THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. III, NO. 7 NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 14, 1944 NUMBER 1550

The Greatest American Victory

General Bradley's thrust into Brittany looms more and more important as the greatest American victory in the German war and contains the possibility of a complete alteration in the campaign against Europe. The present German weakness is manpower. The more widely we can extend the front, the greater the advantage to us—a fact of which the Russians have already taken full advantage. Now it is obvious that until the armored column broke through into Brittany only a very small proportion of the total American armies (and the British too, for that matter) had reached positions where they could come into effective action. There simply was not room for all the troops we had to operate there and the probability is that plans were already afoot for another landing on some other part of the European coast.

More Elbow Room

The capture of Brittany, if we get one of the ports in good shape as now seems likely, means that no other landing will be necessary. A good deal will depend upon the position of the armies when the push begins to slow down, but at the very least, elbow room has been gained for another force as large as Bradley's own and German broadcasts are already reporting making contacts with the troops of such another force. The Germans still appear to have adequate reserves to meet even another American army, but the prospect opened up by the Brittany drive is that they will have to meet two and in that case there is very little doubt but that Hitler will have to give up most of France, perhaps retiring to the line of the Seine and the Cevennes.

This line might be held through the winter if the morale of the German Army stayed together after its series of resounding defeats. They have been hit hard in Normandy; but they are by no means finished yet, any more than they were in the Russian break-through. On the latter front, indeed, a pause appears imminent, for German reserves are in now and the easy advances seem to be over, except perhaps in the Baltic States where the Nazi commanders appear to have received the assignment of conducting insular defenses as long as possible in order that better defense arrangements may be set up near home—as with the Japanese in the Pacific.

The Meaning of Japanese Strategy

The changes in the Japanese cabinet evidently have more than a technical importance. The attempt to evacuate Manokwari and the fact that our advance forces, ashore at Sansapor, found the barge terminal there vacant with piles of hastily abandoned equipment, mark the first occasion on which the Japanese enemy has abandoned any position without being attacked. True, they abandoned Kiska; but they did so at a time when it was under constant attack and a landing was obviously imminent. The Manokwari force is presumably considerably larger than that at Kiska and is certainly better supplied; it is, or should be capable of as long and delaying a resistance as those still being gradually pounded to pieces around Aitape and on Bougainville.

This change in Japanese technique may merely represent a change in personalities among the directing strategists back in Tokyo, for the Japanese military work on political lines and are divided into parties which advocate one strategic plan or another, attaining power when they are able to present convincing arguments for trying their method. It may also represent

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1944, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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the fact that some arrangement of which we do not know has been completed for the defense of the inner bastions of the Empire—that it is no longer necessary to fight delaying actions.

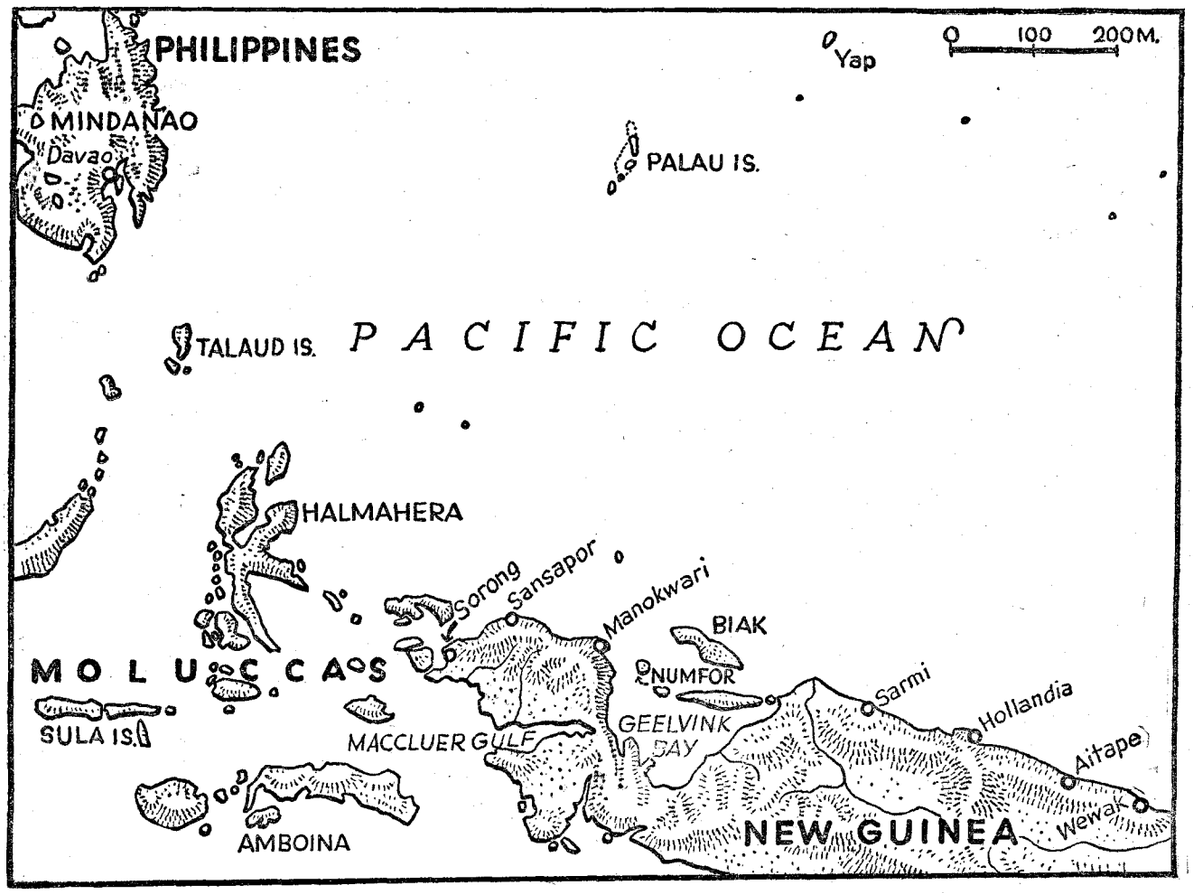
A Blow at the Philippines?

More likely than either of these, however, it represents the fact that the commander at Manokwari believes he can save the major portion of his troops. There is a terribly hard march along the shore ahead of him down the peninsula to the point where it becomes a mere neck of land with the MacClure Gulf cutting in close on the eastern side. He will have to climb a range of mountains to reach that gulf. But there seems every evidence that if he does reach it he will get away. Not since Java fell has there been any mention in dispatches of Darwin or of Allied ships working west of the Torres Straits.

The fact that there has not, the fact that American ships are now operating far north to the Bonins, these mark the difference between American and Japanese strategy in the Pacific. Ours has been as much a strategy of blue water as theirs has a strategy of islands. Apparently they still dominate the narrow passages among those islands as thoroughly as our fleet dominates the open Pacific; and apparently the new move in their strategy signifies an intention to concentrate on holding narrow waters by means of light craft operating from small bases. The answering strategy, of course, is to make the utmost use of our long sea communications and with the Japanese abandoning the struggle for northern New Guinea, it is probable that a direct blow at the Philippines is not far distant.

Republicans v. Jobs

While Republican nominee Dewey was grabbing the headlines with accusations against the New Deal for delays in planning for reconversion and postwar job stabilization, Senate Republicans were lining up solidly in opposition to action on these vital matters. When the Murray-Kilgore bill on reconversion and unemployment insurance came to a vote in the Senate



The MacArthur Command Moves West

Known Japanese bases are at Davao, Palau, Amboina, Sorong and Manokwari, the last of which was abandoned this week by its garrison of 15,000 men, who were apparently attempting to escape over the mountains for sea transport from MacCluer Gulf. Halmahera is reported held by the enemy in force, and with minor points among the Moluccas, gives the Japanese a chain of bases from which they can conduct the type of war in which they have been most skillful—a war on land of isolated posts and on the sea of raids by torpedo-carriers, operating mainly at night from harbors supplied by means of sea-going barges. The Japanese hold on northern New Guinea has been shaken by our control of the open sea; in the next phase, the MacArthur command must attack an area most favorable to the enemy method.

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Military Affairs Committee, all seven of the Republican members of the Committee voted against reporting the measure out, while the ten Democrats who voted favored the action. There is every indication that the full Republican membership in the Senate will follow this same pattern. They will again try to defeat the administration by seeking a coalition with Southern Democrats behind the inadequate George bill on the trumped-up issue of states' rights.

The Kilgore-Murray bill as reported to the Senate provides fair coverage for practically all major phases of demobilization except surplus-property disposal. That question must be the next to be tackled by progressive political forces. The administration plan would provide an overall Office of War Mobilization and Adjustment to direct the whole job, a planning Bureau of Program and Projects with an advisory Production-Employment Board of citizen groups, a Work Administrator to direct retraining and relocation of workers, unemployment benefits up to $35 per week over a period of two years after the war, authorization for financing local public-works programs. No amount of Dewey oratory in the future will offset Republican opposition to this practical program now.

More Progressive Successes

Primary elections throughout the country continue to show a strongly progressive tendency. Representative W. P. Lambertson, Republican, of Kansas and Senator Bennett Clark of Missouri are the latest conservatives to bite the dust. Lambertson was a thoroughgoing isolationist, appeaser and Tory on domestic issues. He had only one plus vote out of eighteen in The New Republic chart. Clark, nominally a Democrat, was also an isolationist and on most issues an opponent of President Roosevelt. He had only seven plus votes out of eighteen in The New Republic chart.

In New York, Ham Fish won the Republican nomination in his district, as he had been expected to do. His margin was so narrow, however, that there is an excellent chance he will be defeated in the election next November. Fish had only four plus votes out of eighteen in our chart.

Conservative attacks on the CIO Political Action Committee and the National Citizens PAC continue. The latest comes from Representative Martin Dies who, thank goodness, will soon be former Representative Martin Dies. Dies has announced a three-man sub-committee to investigate PAC, two of whose members, Costello of California and Starnes of Alabama, were defeated in the primaries, both being strongly opposed by the PAC. Mr. Dies's indictment of the CIO is a ridiculous melange. He apparently thinks anybody who was formerly a federal employee is prohibited from political activity for the rest of his life; and alternately that he can somehow prevent employees of PAC from ever having jobs again with the federal government. In short, he is angry, he knows he can do nothing about it and so he proceeds to howl.

The South Is for Roosevelt

The Gallup poll has been checking up on the sentiment for Mr. Roosevelt in the Solid South. As was to be expected, the President is overwhelmingly popular with the voters in that area. His percentage runs 80 in Alabama, 78 in Arkansas, 68 in Florida, 84 in Georgia, 76 in Louisiana, 84 in Mississippi, 89 in South Carolina and 75 in Texas. In all cases, he is somewhat less popular than in 1940; but he is still sufficiently well regarded to make the much advertised Southern revolt seem like a grim joke. With percentages like these in favor of the President, in no state would the party machine dare to do what was threatened, and send spokesmen to the electoral college who would vote against him. No such elector would ever dare go back and face the people of his state. Why the President's advisers in Washington ever took the revolt seriously, we do not know. Perhaps they didn't; perhaps the whole affair was a bit of window-dressing to make more plausible the purge of the liberals at the Chicago convention. It would indeed be ironic if, by yielding to the Southern Tories, the President had lost the election.

Proof that the revolt is broken is shown by what is happening in South Carolina and Mississippi. In South Carolina, the state Democratic convention has declared its support of the President and party platform. The electors will be named by the state executive committee, thus guaranteeing them to Roosevelt and Truman. In Mississippi, where some anti-Roosevelt electors have already been chosen, steps are being taken to run pro-Roosevelt electors against them in every case. In so far as there ever was a revolt, it's over.

Britain and Argentina

Comments by responsible sources in London, like The Economist, indicate that Britain would be reluctant to impose economic sanctions to end the rapidly developing fascism in Argentina. This reluctance is understandable, in view of the importance to Britain, especially during the war, of the supplies she imports from Argentina. The United States and the other nations concerned ought not to ask the British government to consent to an embargo unless there is some other way to provide the British with the grain, meat, linseed oil and hides which would be cut off.

Those in Washington who favor an embargo, however, believe that these materials can be furnished from other sources. If they are right, Britain's position becomes much weaker. What is needed is conclusive demonstration of the facts.

It is strongly suspected that even if the war effort would not be injured by the proposed embargo, British economic interests would still be reluctant because of their stake in postwar Argentine trade and their rivalry

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with the United States in this connection. There is little doubt that it is on this rivalry that the present Argentine government relies in pursuing its pro-Axis policy. But this is also a subject on which Allied coöperation is not only possible, but essential. Britain, for the sake of her economic future, needs a large market for exports and a chance to increase her overseas investments. If this country supports an expanding world economy, there is no need to deprive her of them in order to assure our own legitimate interests. There is no good reason why the British need fear that an embargo would permit us to profit at their expense in postwar trade.

One thing is certain: if Argentina is not stopped now, the price of stopping her will be much greater in the end.

Mr. Rodell Was Wrong

Fred Rodell predicted in The Progressive last March that Mr. Roosevelt would not run again this year. He is running.

The Meaning of PAC

THERE IS NO MORE violently discussed innovation in American politics than the CIO Political Action Committee and its affiliated National Citizens Political Action Committee. On the one hand, it is regarded by progressives as the chief hope in a political situation which without it would be likely to degenerate into a choice between evils. On the other hand, it is virulently denounced as a manifestation of labor bossism and pressure politics at their worst. What are the facts and what is their meaning for the future of democracy?

The first step toward an understanding of this phenomenon must be an analysis of the nature of the two major parties. It is frequently pointed out that the Democratic Party is an illogical coalition of factions which have little in common except the desire to elect a national administration and safeguard political patronage. Ever since the Civil War the principal forces in the party's machinery have been the politicians of the Solid South and the big-city machine bosses of the North. When only the dependable Southern vote went Democratic and the national candidates made little inroads into the Northern electorate, the Republicans would win. When, however, industrial states joined the South, a Democratic President could be elected. If by chance a large percentage of farmers also voted Democratic, the victory would be overwhelming. Yet the industrial workers, the dissatisfied farmers and the independent voters who occasionally present the party with its largest victories, have little in common either with the Southern Bourbons or the big-city bosses. When large masses of the Northern population vote Democratic, they are reformist in tendency and want measures which are abhorrent to the conservative Democratic politicians and the sources from which their funds are derived.

Although at the moment only the Democratic Party is usually called a coalition of incompatibles, the Republican Party also deserves a similar description. When it first became powerful during the Civil War, it was a compromise between Northern patriots and idealists on the one hand and manufacturing interests who wanted a protective tariff on the other. Ever since then the power of the industrialists in the Republican Party has been growing, but since they are a tiny minority of the electorate, they can win national elections only by attracting votes of small business men, white-collar workers, professional people, farmers and even industrial labor. No proof is necessary that the political interests of these other groups have frequently been opposed to the protectionist philosophy and the desire of big business for immunity from taxation or governmental regulation. Reformist movements have almost always existed in the Republican as well as in the Democratic Party, and on one occasion at least split it wide open—when Theodore Roosevelt ran on the Progressive ticket.

The Political Action Committee, in so far as it can be considered a part of the Democratic Party, is merely an organized expression of the power and opinions of those rank-and-file voters in the North upon whom the party must depend for its victories. The Southern conservatives and the big-city machines have long had their organizations, their access to funds and their machinery for getting out the vote. The mass of voters upon whom they must depend for success have a perfect right to their own organization, which can contend for power with these reactionary and corrupt interests. The PAC is not yet well enough established or skillful enough in politics to dominate the party when it is opposed by the other two forces, as is shown by the outcome of the struggle to renominate Mr. Wallace as Vice President, but it has a better right to dominate than either of the others.

The Political Action Committee is not, however, solely an organization within the Democratic Party. It happens to be supporting Mr. Roosevelt, but circumstances might arise which would cause it either to back a Republican presidential nominee or to be neutral in the presidential campaign. Moreover, it has a large interest in the congressional elections, in which policies do not follow party lines. It wants to defeat the bi-partisan coalition which has an isolationist tendency in international affairs and which is opposed to the more progressive domestic policies of the administration. In doing so, the PAC enters Republican primaries, supports at the polls Republican candidates whom it favors against undesirable Democrats, and speaks for a large number of voters registered as Republicans. By this activity it hopes both to make possible congressional support for a liberal policy on the

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part of the President and to reinforce the progressive tendency within the administration itself.

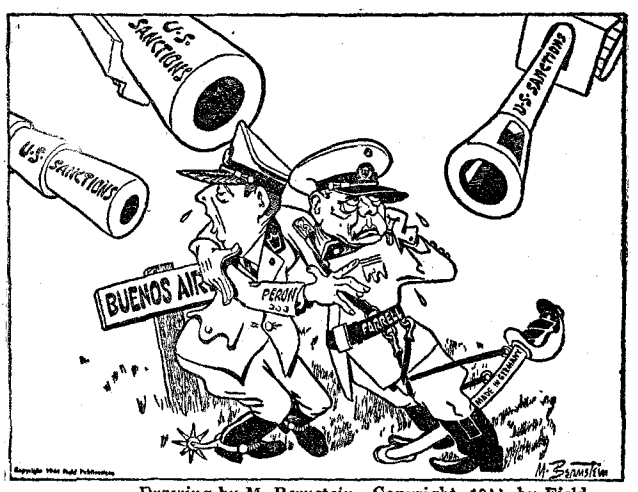
The charges which have been made against the PAC are so hysterical as scarcely to be worth the attention of sensible people. It is said for instance that the Committee is using a six-million-dollar slush fund to swing elections, and is disobeying the Hatch Act. As a matter of fact, this sum of money is about ten times as large as the total it has collected and about twenty times more than it has so far spent. The money has been used, not to buy votes and not even for contributions to the campaigns of individuals, but to educate the rank and file to the necessity of registering and voting and the importance of the election issues. All the political experts are agreed that the chances of FDR and other progressive candidates depend almost entirely on the size of the vote, since the masses of the people will favor them if they go to the polls. The publication by unions or union representatives of endorsement for specific candidates is an old custom and violates no law. Indeed, a law which forbade it would be undemocratic and probably unconstitutional. When contributions are made to campaign funds, they will be made by the Citizens Political Action Committee, which is not controlled by labor organizations or financed by union funds, but raises its money directly from its membership.

Another charge made by enemies of the PAC alleges that it is using arbitrary power in devoting union funds to political purposes and instructing members how to vote. As far as the union funds are concerned, it has long been within the power of elected officials to appropriate them for education, charity and dozens of other purposes not directly connected with the processes of collective bargaining. Any organization would be made futile if those who administer it were not able to spend its money. They must of course give an accounting to the membership as to how the money is used. If the members disapprove, those in official positions will soon lose their power. The real point in this case is that the great majority of members do approve. As long as we have the secret ballot, no official can force them to vote one way rather than another. But compulsion is unnecessary, because as the elections are proving, they favor the policies enunciated by their leaders.

The extreme in absurdity is reached by the charge that the PAC is nothing but a Communist plot. This usually rests on quotation of a statement by John L. Lewis that the CIO is under Communist domination and on charges against the American Labor Party in New York State made by its former right-wing faction. Most of the reactionaries who quote Lewis' statement would not believe him under oath on any other issue. He made it in the midst of a bitter fight against his old friends and associates, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. The fight involved no issue of Communist control, but Lewis' desire to be the sole boss of the CIO as he is of the miners, and to express his hostility to President Roosevelt. Those who take the pains to study the careers of men like Hillman and Murray know that they are not Communists, have never been dominated by Communists and indeed have fought the Communists bitterly whenever the latter attempted to exercise domination. Space is too short to examine the basis of charges made by the Right Wingers in New York, but in any event they do not apply to the national organization, and we believe them to be unfounded even in the locality to which those who made them referred.

The old-fashioned trade-union attitude toward politics was merely to reward friends and punish enemies, without attempting to influence nominations or to judge candidates on any basis except their attitude on labor legislation. For many years, however, there have been strong factions in labor which have regarded this as an unrealistic policy, both because the real political conflicts often occur in the primaries or the nominating conventions, and because the workers have an interest in the larger governmental policies, just as do all progressive-minded people. This attitude has in the past quarter-century frequently been expressed both in non-partisan political action and in attempts to form labor parties. There is therefore nothing new about the ideas or methods of the Political Action Committee. What is new is that the unions are now more numerous and more powerful than ever in the past and that therefore their weight counts more heavily.

It is too early to speculate concerning what this development portends for the future of our two major parties. Either or both of them may split, and a reshuffling may take place which will put all the conservatives on one side of the party fence and the progressives on the other. As long as the gulf between the two groups of interests is not too wide, we believe this would be a healthy development. Whether it occurs or not, however, it is a matter for congratulations that the independent democratic forces are now organized in politics more effectively than for many years.



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"Maybe We Ought to Declare This an Open City"

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Racism in Philadelphia

THE PHILADELPHIA rapid-transit strike is in some ways the most disturbing incident in American life for a long time. Here was a strike which, although it was strongly opposed by the union leaders, apparently was supported by a large majority of all the workers involved, which was solely a protest against the upgrading of a handful of Negroes to positions as motormen. The workers stayed out almost a week in spite of the fact that the strike did great damage to the production of war material in the tremendously important Philadelphia area. They only returned to work after they had been ordered to do so by the army with the threat that they would be dismissed from their jobs, would be refused the certificates necessary to get other jobs, and, in the case of those eligible for military service, would have their deferment canceled and would be called up at once.

This is a disheartening picture of race prejudice without a single mitigating factor. The scene was not in the South, where race relations have been a cause of constant friction for many generations, but in the North, in a city where Negroes constitute an insignificant minority of the total population. The episode did not even have the excuse—if it can be called an excuse—of the race riots in Detroit, which were aggravated by bad housing, overcrowding in stores and other public meeting places, and the sudden influx into the city of large masses of both whites and Negroes from the Deep South. These were permanent employees of the Philadelphia rapid-transit system. Not many of them can have been seriously inconvenienced by war conditions, and only a few Negroes were involved. It is no defense to say that enemy agents must have been at work among the strikers, or that an independent union, defeated a few months ago in an election by a union affiliated with the CIO, was trying to stir up trouble. It ought not to be possible for either enemy agents or disgruntled union officials to achieve a result so easily, at such a tremendous cost to the public welfare.

The truth is that the Philadelphia strike was a symptom of a deep-rooted, dangerous and long-neglected disease of our national life. Almost no one in America has taken any trouble, in our whole past history, to fight the pernicious doctrine of racism. In the South, where it has been mainly directed against the Negroes, nearly all the "best people" have preached and practised it—"best" in the sense of having education, money and responsible positions of leadership in the community. In the North, the same false and vicious doctrine has been mainly directed against the Jews, and here again the community leaders have almost unanimously participated in these odious doctrines, instead of fighting them. Our schools have done little to counteract the prevailing current; indeed, in most cities, textbooks which "harped too much" on the evils of racism would not be permitted to get into the public school system at all..

You had an excellent example of the prevailing intellectual and moral climate a few weeks ago when the United States Army refused to permit the circulation of a pamphlet, "The Races of Mankind," telling what every anthropologist knows to be true, that there are no important differences in the intellectual and spiritual capacities of races. The army officers who made this decision were of course completely ignorant of the scientific facts on this matter—just as ignorant as most United States senators from the South, or as a Philadelphia transit worker. They were yielding to a community prejudice, a prejudice without any basis that intelligent and honest people should accept.

We should have begun to fight this evil thing many decades ago; but the fact that we did not is no excuse for postponing the effort still farther. A half-dozen American cities are now trembling on the brink of a repetition of the Detroit race riots of a year ago. Feeling among the Negroes about the treatment of colored troops in the army, and about other types of discrimination, is close to the boiling point. We shall be lucky indeed if we get through the next few months without a major disaster. Yet neither of the two chief political parties is really concerned about this problem. The Republicans were glad to make political capital in their platform out of Negro discontent, but the Republicans in Congress have a sorry record in regard to racism. The Democrats uttered a few meaningless words on the subject, endeavoring to placate the Negro haters of the South, who certainly did not need to be placated. Although good work is being done here and there on a limited and local scale to promote interracial understanding, the problem as a whole is rushing to a major climax. Unless we can master it, it will continue to offer the gravest threat to our democracy.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

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August Stock-Taking

PRE-ELECTION AUGUST is a month for planning campaigns, for press releases, and for considerable political stock-taking. The conventions are over and the fireworks don't begin until after Labor Day.

This year the two conventions may be said to have been mutually satisfactory. Each party provided ammunition to its opposition. The President is known to have been in a state of sheer ecstacy at reports of the Republican gathering. Its platform proved to be so clear an attempt to be all things to all men that it satisfied only the Democrats, its presidential candidate equally colorless, and its vice-presidential nominee so obviously a latter-day Harding that it would pay the Democrats to underwrite all his radio time. Unhappily, the Democrats seemed unable or unwilling to take full advantage of Republican mistakes. While their platform was more brilliantly written and had unmistakeable progressive overtones, its minorities plank presented the Republicans with millions of Negro votes. And the defeat of Henry Wallace, conceived and carried out for reasons of political expediency, seemed to lend proof to the Republican contention that the administration's party is dominated by Southern reactionaries and Northern machine bosses. So the first round can be counted a draw.

But the odds are still with FDR, as attested by all the polls and all the political commentators. While a Gallup sectional poll just released shows Dewey considerably ahead in Illinois and Ohio as well as in Michigan and Indiana, which the Republicans won in 1940, the most recent Fortune poll (July 20) gives the President a margin of 8.6 percent. The latest Newsweek state-by-state analysis (July 24) gives Roosevelt 282 electoral votes to 194 for Dewey, with 55 a toss-up, this being a loss of four electoral votes for the Democrats from the analysis of the previous month.

Without question the President's worst political enemies are defeatism and over-optimism, both of which lead to apathy. The first of these, defeatism, was completely allayed by some of the results in the primaries, by military victories and by the successful activities of the CIO Political Action Committee. Indeed, this early defeatism has given way to an overconfidence that can be equally disastrous. Certain facts regarding the primary victories have not been considered. In the first place most of them have taken place in the South. While this is particularly encouraging to all liberals, there never was much doubt, despite all the smoke, that the South would go Democratic in November, whoever won the primaries. Secondly, it is often forgotten that even in the disastrous elections of 1942, before the labor movement had seen the writing on the wall, a number of obstructionists were defeated in the primaries. Although these defeats were not quite as exciting as those of Dies, Starnes, Costello, Holman, Smith, and the two Clarks, the victims included the pro-Coughlinite Sweeney of Cleveland, the rabid isolationist Olliver of Maine, Faddis of Pennsylvania, Coffee of Nebraska, Leland Ford of California and Youngdahl of Minnesota. Finally, primary victories have no relationship whatsoever to a contest of strength between the parties themselves.

As far as the public-opinion polls are concerned, it is much easier to cast your vote with the poll-taker who comes to your front door than to cast it at the polls in November. This political fact hit the good Dr. Gallup between the eyes in 1942 when he had to eat quite a lot of crow to explain away his mistaken prognostications for the congressional elections of that year. He managed to swallow the crow without indigestion by taking one of the most revealing of all his polls. Several weeks after the 1942 elections, Dr. Gallup published an analysis of the extent of electoral participation by the major occupational groups, regardless of *how* they voted. He found that the four major groups voted in the following order, in proportion to their numbers: business and professional, farmers, white-collar workers and labor.

Obviously if anything like this situation obtains in the coming elections, the Democrats will have a real fight on their hands. Relating this occupational analysis to the general polls, the conclusion would be that the Dewey votes in the estimates are more likely to be actual votes in November than the Roosevelt votes. This puts the burden of proof squarely on the shoulders of organized labor, and it is at this point that optimism seems legitimate.

There are a number of reasons why the labor vote next November should be a far greater percentage of the total vote than two years ago, despite the jettisoning of Wallace. The overriding factor is the magic of the Roosevelt name. Probably no President or presidential candidate in our history has had the confidence of American workers as fully as has FDR during these past 11 years. John L. Lewis learned this to his everlasting dismay four years ago.

A second factor is labor's changed economic situation. Nineteen-forty-two was the high mark of general economic prosperity, resulting from war industry. Unfortunately, full bellies don't make for a large labor vote. Two years ago all American workers, as well as many of their wives, had jobs at relatively good pay. Furthermore, there was no slackening of the in-

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dustrial pace and consequently no doubts about having a job next year. What difference who runs the country as long as $75 is in the weekly pay-envelope? But 1944 is the year of the beginning of cut-backs, cancelled contracts, shorter hours and less "take-home." By November this situation may become serious. Even the workers who still have jobs will have friends who have not. And, in an overwhelming percentage, they will vote for the candidate who brought them out of Hooverville in preference to one whose program is so reminiscent of the man who discovered it.

A third factor is the decrease in the number of disfranchised workers. Most states require a year's residence for voting and millions of Americans, mostly workers, had moved from one state to another less than a year prior to November, 1942. In addition, congressional elections are considered local affairs and new residents are not yet sufficiently familiar with local politics to have the interest required to register and vote. Not only is 1944 a national election year, but by this time most of the workers have established at least a year's residence in their new communities.

Finally, there is the increased political activity of organized labor. The CIO PAC has received so much publicity in recent weeks that its work requires no detailing here. Much of the publicity has been in the reactionary press. Indeed the Republicans protest too much! The charge that CIO endorsement constitutes a political liability is so much eye-wash. The Republicans would welcome a similar liability for themselves. It may be true that in a few farm states, CIO sponsorship will be no help or that a few middle-of-the-roaders will be sufficiently frightened by Sidney Hillman's influence to change their votes to the Republicans. But for every vote thus lost, 10 will be gained by the tough campaigning of the CIO for registration, voting and general political education. And in the glare of CIO publicity, the activities of the AFL and the Brotherhoods, particularly on the local level where it counts, should not be overlooked.

It is well for the Democrats that the prospects of a big labor vote are good, because there are other population groups normally Democratic that may be lost to them this year. The most obvious such group is the Negro community, including 2,500,000 voters holding a potential balance of power in 17 or more states with a total of 281 or more votes in the electoral college. Traditionally Republican before 1932—due more to the achievements of Lincoln than of any subsequent Republican leader—a good majority of the Negro vote was won by the New Deal through its general program of social reform. But by 1942 the Negro vote began to return to the GOP. This was no fault of the Republicans. The war brought with it social and racial tensions which an increasingly reactionary Congress was completely unwilling to confront realistically. When the New Dealers lost control of Congress, the Southern Democrats became the balance of power in all crucial legislative battles. While the Southerners were pro-war and militantly interventionist, they exacted their price in return for support of the administration's foreign policy. The Democrats are now paying that price in Negro votes lost to the Republicans.

No one who has not talked to Negro leaders since the conventions can fully understand the depths of their despair. The vague minorities plank in the Democratic platform has Jim Crow written all over it. The dropping of Wallace as a concession primarily to the Southerners, even though a Southerner did not replace him, made their despair complete. Liberal Negroes realize full well that the party of Hoover and McCormick is no preferable alternative to the Democrats, even with the strong influence of the Southerners. But they are afraid that their continued support of the administration will mean repudiation by their own people. The only hope left to the Democrats, if they want to retain any sizeable portion of the Negro vote, is to take advantage of the months before election to push through legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and other remedial measures.

The soldier vote is, of course, another loss to the Democrats. The lowest estimate of FDR's strength among the armed forces is 70 percent. This is not due primarily to his prestige as commander-in-chief, as is too often assumed, but rather to the fact that American youth has always been overwhelmingly pro-New Deal. Prosecutor Dewey is himself the worst culprit in this greatest theft in American political history, of perhaps five million votes.

Much has been written of the Polish vote which has been estimated at 1,200,000. But there is no indication that the whole Polish-American vote will be swayed one way or the other in its entirety by the direction of Polish-Soviet relations. Nevertheless, the next weeks will be crucial in this regard. If Premier Mikolajczyk succeeds in his present mission to Moscow, the fears of some Democratic leaders will be allayed. If, however, the mission fails and the Russians set up a Polish government in complete opposition to the London government-in-exile, a not inconsiderable number of Polish-American votes may well be lost in a number of crucial states, particularly in New York, Wisconsin, Connecticut, and Michigan, all now considered doubtful.

Finally, Democrats may lose the "good government" crowd, formerly called the "goo-goos." These are the decent conservative voters who are appalled by the machine politics of the Democrats without realizing that Republican victories are not due exclusively to love and virtue. Many of this group would tend to be Willkie followers, internationalists in foreign policy and moderate humanitarians in domestic affairs. The

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Republican convention probably pushed many of them toward the Democrats, but the Democrats wasted no time in pushing them back again. For these voters, Governor Dewey's wise repudiation of Hamilton Fish in New York will undoubtedly lend a respectability to the Republican ticket which Governor Bricker seems to work overtime to unmask.

Even a large labor turn-out cannot by itself overcome all of the above factors, most of which are to the advantage of the Republicans. But the President has on his side his own personal popularity, the undeniably potent "commander-in-chief" and "don't change horses" issues, the prestige of incumbency, and his matchless political genius. In all probability these advantages will pull him through.

Since the possibility of the end of the European war before November looms larger every day, the effect of such an eventuality on the elections must be considered. All the polls and most of the politicos, Democrats and Republicans alike, are convinced that Roosevelt's strength would be considerably diminished by even a partial end of the war. Nevertheless, this writer is willing to get out on a limb to the extent of predicting that the enormous prestige of victory, the determination to finish off the war in the Pacific in the shortest possible time, and confidence in the President as a peacemaker would be ample compensatory factors.

Although it looks like FDR in a close race in November, the character of the next Congress is still very much in doubt. Despite his strength, the President cannot be expected to carry the whole ticket along with him in many of the states he will undoubtedly win. In 1940 he carried six states (California, Idaho, Illinois, Minnesota, New Jersey and Ohio) in which the Republicans won the senatorial contest. There may well be more such states in a wartime election in which many voters will support the commander-in-chief and then cross the line for the rest of the ticket. To break the present unholy alliance of reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats, it would be necessary to gain roughly 100 seats in the House. Unless the efforts of the labor and independent progressive forces are even more successful than now seems possible, despite the scattered primary victories, Roosevelt will again be faced with a Congress under the domination of the present alliance.

This August before one of the most crucial elections in our history is no time for either optimism or pessimism, but rather for facing the hard, realistic facts of the American political scene. Let the liberal optimist read the Republican platform carefully, analyze the forces behind the Dewey-Bricker ticket, and then imagine for one black moment what American progressives would face if Franklin D. Roosevelt were out of the picture! Then let the eternal liberal pessimist compare the fight that was put up for Wallace in Chicago with his memory of previous major party conventions; let him realize that, almost for the first time in America, the liberal and labor forces are getting themselves organized for the big fight ahead, for 1944 and after. Finally, let both of them, the optimist and the pessimist, roll up their sleeves and get into the fight.

JAMES LOEB JR.

Britain's Political Future

Will Labor Win the Next Election?

CAN AN ARMY win a war though its generals are poor strategists, weak in faith and not averse to compromising with the enemy?

That is the problem the British labor movement has to face. Almost every political factor is in its favor for winning the next general election. The only thing in doubt is whether its own leaders are more afraid of victory than defeat.

Responsibility for governing Britain is a serious affair. A political party that aims so high must have self-confidence, a clear knowledge of what it intends to do, the knack of assembling the best available experts for implementing its policies and no squeamishness in dealing with everything and everyone standing in its way. Thirteen years ago when Labor was last in office, its leaders were conspicuously lacking in all those qualities. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, premier and chancellor of the exchequer respectively at that time, succumbed entirely to Tory intrigue and Tory economics.

That memory is much present in the minds of responsible British socialists. It impels them to scan closely the record of those contemporary Labor leaders who would form Labor's cabinet if as a result of the next election (expected within the year) Labor is returned to office.

One thing has been demonstrated during the war. Labor leaders make excellent civil servants and administrators. When working in unison with the Tories and backed by the entire apparatus of the capitalist press and state they carry through departmental jobs most adequately. The two leading Labor men in Mr. Churchill's government are Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison. Bevin as Minister of Labor, and Morrison as Minister of Home Security, have had to impose on the British people all the hardships of industrial con-

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scription, compulsory firewatching and other irksome A. R. P. duties. They have been the taskmasters-in-chief. It is doubtful if any Tory politicians could have filled those posts so successfully. The Labor men have been able to draw on the reputation of the labor movement and its century of anti-capitalist propaganda, to reassure overdriven workers that the burdens laid on them, however onerous, are essential for winning the war.

But now a new political situation is developing. The coalition government, formed in 1940 to deal with an emergency war situation, has begun to talk and to behave as if it expected to continue in existence during the years when postwar reconstruction is the business of Parliament. Naturally, the British people want to know what steps are being taken to see that they have decent jobs and homes when peace comes. In response to such queries the government has issued a series of documents dealing with employment, town and country planning and housing. Further documents of a similar nature are on the way.

These government statements place the labor movement in a silly position and are a source of growing internal conflict. Labor ministers in the government have agreed to them, and yet, so conservatively inadequate are they, that even the elderly liberal economist Sir William Beveridge is sharply critical. The rank and file of the labor movement is not ready to accept them. It has a wistful preference for its own socialist policies. But what a situation when socialist representatives in the government say, in effect, that socialist philosophy and economics are not essential during the transition period from war to peace and for an indefinite time after that!

Does this mean that some Labor leaders expect to contest the next election as part of a coalition team and under the leadership of Mr. Churchill? Logically it ought to mean that and undoubtedly there are Labor politicians who have so much enjoyed the prestige and security of joint action with the Tories that they would be content to prolong their present status. But that is not possible: not, that is, so long as the rank and file of the labor movement retains its right to be consulted. It is overwhelmingly in favor of regaining its political independence. Coalition government is regarded as an evil wartime necessity, to be ended at the earliest opportunity.

The eagerness of Labor's rank and file to regain its independence is sharpened by the knowledge that public opinion is turning away from the Tories. Millions who voted conservative in the past or did not bother to vote at all will vote Labor next time in the hope of ensuring audaciously progressive postwar reconstruction. Nor is this mood confined to working people. Nothing in wartime Britain is more remarkable than the willingness shown by influential sections of the middle class to consider radical economic change. Common Wealth, an organization born during the war and recruited and officered mainly by middle-class professional people, is the political embodiment of this new leftward trend. Common Wealth does not wish to set up in opposition to the traditional labor movement. Its function is rather that of a "ginger group" and in view of the importance of dislodging the Tories when the general election comes, it is anxious to form an electoral pact with Labor.

The Labor Party is a mass party. Common Wealth consists of small groups of zealous crusaders scattered throughout the country. But these small groups form shock brigades pioneering for socialism in circles politically indifferent or hostile to Labor. The effect of an electoral pact would be to swing over for Labor just that support in many border-line constituencies that could mean the difference between victory and defeat. Altogether from fifty to one hundred constituencies might be decisively affected. Besides Common Wealth, the two older left parties, Communist and Independent Labor Party, are anxious for an electoral alliance with Labor. These two could win less than a dozen seats under their own banners, but undoubtedly their active, enthusiastic support would help the Labor candidate in many other constituencies.

What are the chances of a vigorous Labor lead, a repudiation of the half-baked reconstruction proposals now being championed by the coalition government, and the formation of a Labor government after the next election?

The truth is, and this has its dangers, Labor is likely to win the next general election even though its leaders go into the fight half-heartedly. The most that a reluctant leadership can do is reduce the political temperature and create confusion to the point where the electorate would return the two main parties in almost equal strength, the marginal advantage remaining with the Tories. What would then happen? A return to coalition government? There are cynics who think that would be a congenial way out of many difficulties for those socialist leaders who, by their acts if not by what they say, plainly prefer coalition to the hazards of independent power. But the more optimistic and just as likely outcome is that there may be enough new blood in the next Parliament to amend the present left leadership and insist that a socialist party behave like a socialist party, whether in office or in opposition.

I have made no mention of Mr. Churchill. He remains immensely popular. But voting in the by-elections already demonstrates that his name is no magic talisman. A great many people react toward him on two different levels simultaneously. They say "Good old Winnie. He is the one to win the war." In the next breath they add, "I am not voting Tory next time. The Tories are no good for afterwards."

London JENNIE LEE

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What Hope for India?

The article below, by H. N. Brailsford, was written before the announcement that Mr. Gandhi is to confer in Bombay on August 8 with Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Moslem League. It offers background information necessary to understand this important meeting which may hasten the day of Indian independence. – THE EDITORS

FOR A MOMENT Indians have turned their minds to the central question on which their destiny hinges. They have been thinking over ways and means to end their poverty. A group of big industrialists, Hindus and Parsees, has worked out a plan which promises to double the income of the peninsula in 15 years. There may be some flaws in the scheme. It might to the general peril add too much to the ascendancy of big business. It omits what may be the first indispensable step in the villages of the North—the elimination of the functionless landlord. But at this stage it is not the details of the plan that matter.

The novel and startling fact is that a group of Indians, possessing collectively considerable experience and prestige, has attacked the problem of raising India's standard of life with boldness and imagination. Nearly all of India's problems go back to this fundamental issue of poverty. Why are the masses still illiterate; why do over a hundred millions suffer every year from malaria; why is an Indian's expectation of life a mere 26 years against the Englishman's 62 years? The answer is, that the titanic labor force of this population is so ill-organized and under-employed, that it draws from the soil a mere fraction of what, judged even by Asiatic standards, it should produce. As for industry, it is a modest ambition to multiply it, as this plan proposes, five times over. India could afford the schools and hospitals she needs, if the rivers that pour from the Himalayan snows were harnessed for the production of electric power. Some means she possesses which might serve to equip her with machinery: the Imperial Power is now her debtor to a substantial and growing amount. The authors of this scheme are not writers or academic economists: they are captains of industry who have already some feats of pioneering to their credit. What is even more hopeful: the government has picked a leading figure from among them, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, and put him at the head of a new Department of Planning and Development. Hitherto the palaces of New Delhi were the last refuge of *laissez-faire*. Something has happened since Lord Wavell became Viceroy.

May we hope, then, for India? We might cherish reasonable hopes, were it not that this nation remains sullen, unreconciled, impotent and divided. Its two communities are still at feud. Most of its chosen leaders are still imprisoned and still untried. In 6 of its 11 provinces the bureaucracy governs. It is rather easier to imagine how its economic problem might be solved than to see a way through the political jungle.

But was not the release of Mr. Gandhi a hopeful symptom? Certainly it has relieved the emotional tension. But the fact was stressed in all official statements that Mr. Gandhi was freed solely because his life was in danger. From one risk the British government shrinks: it knows that the ghost of this prisoner would haunt its threshold for a generation. But Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, has rejected bluntly and firmly a plea from a group of Labor members of Parliament for the release of the other leaders of Congress, among them Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Azad. Before he will do that he expects from them some public retreat from the position Congress adopted when it passed its "Quit India" resolution in August, 1942. In fact the revolt which Congress declared came to an end long ago. India today is tranquil. That this rebellion achieved nothing save additional embitterment is only too obvious.

That Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues made one of the gravest errors of judgment in Indian history is also manifest. When his mental and physical strength returns, Mr. Gandhi may acknowledge his mistake. But to exact from him an avowal of this kind and to enforce it by a threat of indefinite imprisonment against his colleagues is as impolitic as it is ungenerous. It is in any event unlikely that these prisoners would or could make any pronouncement on policy, unless they could first consult each other and their leader. Nor is it easy to see how Mr. Gandhi, though he is at liberty, could inaugurate any new departure unless he were able to discuss it with the Working Committee of Congress. At the most he might perhaps explore the possibilities of an agreement with the Moslem League, if Mr. Jinnah cared to meet him. But could he conclude a treaty? It is customary to call him a dictator, but even he could hardly pledge an organization which for two years has had no legal existence.

There is only one possible reading of Mr. Amery's tactics. Mr. Gandhi, when he mobilized Congress and the Indian masses for civil disobedience in 1942, conceived his campaign as something more than a demonstration: it was a final "revolt" (he used this word) which was to drive the British from India. On their side, as their speeches in Parliament made clear, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, who are both by temperament fighting men, took up the gauntlet Mr. Gandhi threw down. Their purpose manifestly was to crush Congress, which they evidently regarded as the chief

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impediment to the good government of India. Logically enough, if that was his aim, Mr. Amery closed the avenues that might have led to peace. I should not venture to say with any assurance that there was, after the "revolt" had been declared, much chance of reaching a Hindu-Moslem agreement, or of arranging terms between Congress and the British government. None the less, if there is any Indian statesman who might have achieved these miracles, it was Mr. Rajagopalachari, former Premier of Madras, a relative and close friend of Mr. Gandhi. He is one of the few leading Hindus whom Moslems trust. After some talks with Mr. Jinnah he believed that he had found the basis for an agreement which he wished to lay before Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Amery blocked that road by refusing to permit Mr. Rajagopalachari to visit Mr. Gandhi in detention. He refused as bluntly to allow this messenger of good will to visit London. With perfect consistency he next refused to transmit a friendly letter which Mr. Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah, suggesting a meeting in prison. The decision to keep the leaders of Congress behind locked doors is in line with these earlier decisions.

The government may reckon that the longer the Congress remains an illegal organization, which can neither meet, speak nor act, and the longer its leaders vegetate in prison, the weaker its hold on popular sentiment will become. It is the fact, that while it is out of action at least two of its rivals, the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha, are growing in numbers and influence. None the less, after the Congress had suffered a defeat hardly less severe in the civil disobedience movement of 1932, followed as that was by a long period of impotence and eclipse, it swept the country in the provincial elections of 1937. The same thing might happen again. Indians may well feel dejected and puzzled, for they must at last understand that Mr. Gandhi is a very fallible tactician. But their perception that he made a grave mistake neither alienates them from him, nor does it bring them near to the Imperial Power. In sentiment they are still on the side of revolt, though they may realize that Mr. Gandhi conceived and timed his effort with wretched judgment.

This is a gloomy line of thought, for it means that no effort will be made by Mr. Churchill's government to solve the political problem of India until the war is won, or will be smiled upon if Indians make it. The realists in Whitehall may argue that the state of mind of the Indian nation is not of the first importance from a military standpoint. The anxieties that vexed them at the time of Sir Stafford Cripps' offer have faded: though the Japanese once had a footing on a remote patch of Indian soil, the risk of an invasion on a considerable scale has passed. On the other hand, economic motives have sufficed to stimulate a big industrial effort and to attract two million men to the army.

There is, none the less, one new factor that makes for a settlement. Lord Wavell is the most human and sympathetic personality who has held the Viceroy's position for many a year. What he has said reveals a sensitive mind which dares to let its imagination work: what he did in famine-stricken Bengal proved his humanity. He has let it be known that he would welcome, while the war still rages, an attempt to solve the political puzzle. He included, moreover, in his first public address an appeal for coöperation which obviously was addressed to Congress.

For what, then, may we still hope? It will have to be Mr. Gandhi who breaks the deadlock. He should be capable of finding without loss of dignity some form of words which assures the government that the active revolt is ended. He will not cringe or feign a loyalty he does not feel: but he can with sincerity restore the normal relations of internal peace. He is a pacifist who cannot actively support the war: but he should repeat his previous undertaking that he will do nothing to embarrass the United Nations in their conduct of it. Thereafter, I will assume that the leaders of Congress might be liberated and its lawful activities resumed.

What then? It would be a mistake to force the peace. Much preliminary work will have to be done before it would be useful to renew the Cripps offer, with such modifications as may be desirable. Nor would I suggest as the first step an immediate attempt to create a national government. It might be wiser to attempt a reconciliation and a return to normal political life first of all in the provinces. Congress made a grave mistake when it called on its ministries in the provinces it dominated to resign office. Should there be fresh elections, which are long overdue? Though Mr. Amery has ruled otherwise, I think they could be held in wartime, save possibly in Assam and Bengal. It would be a wise act on the part of Congress, while a nation is being built, to share office where it wins with the Moslem League. If strong ministries, newly elected, were again in office in the provinces, might they not from among themselves form what would be in fact a national council with which the Viceroy could negotiate? It may have been a mistake in the past to negotiate, as Sir Stafford Cripps did, with Congress and the other Indian parties. If the 11 provincial premiers could be brought together and consulted, might we not make progress more rapidly and more surely? One condition of success I must not omit to mention: both Congress and the Moslem League would have to pass a self-denying ordinance leaving their premiers free to act without dictation from their headquarters.

I am doubtful whether Congress and the Moslem League can ever reach an agreement if they negotiate directly. I do not regard Pakistan, *i. e.*, the creation of two independent Moslem states in the Northwest and the Northeast, as a tolerable or even a feasible solution. It is not feasible, because the people chiefly con-

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cerned, the Moslems of the Punjab, have no wish for it. Enthusiasm for it is confined to the Moslem inhabitants of provinces which would not be included in the new states. I believe that Mr. Jinnah uses Pakistan primarily as a device to fend off any accommodation between the two religious communities. Certainly whenever the Hindus have tried to get down to the details of an agreement, he has met them with manifestly impossible demands. None the less, Congress should agree to concede the self-determination of the provinces much more explicitly than it has yet done, and then it should propose a workable procedure by which they may be consulted and their boundaries, if need be, drawn afresh.

But I am doubtful whether Pakistan is what Mr. Jinnah really wants. I think his aim is to secure formal parity between the two religious communities—an equal number of members in any federal assembly or council and of ministers in the cabinet, possibly equality also in the distribution of all official posts and in the number of men in the Indian army. The Moslems are less than a quarter of the population and they are on the whole rather behind the Hindus in education and in industry. To give this backward minority a veto over everything done in India would be to reject democracy and to raise a formidable barrier against progress. Here then is the choice that faces Indians. Will they agree to dismember their country, as Eire was divided? Or will they concede these immense powers to a highly conservative minority? If they choose the latter as the lesser evil, it is obvious that they will limit the powers of the federal government severely.

Is this too gloomy a view to take of the power and outlook of the Moslem League? In 1937 it won less than 5 percent of the Moslem seats; today good observers agree that it could capture 80 percent. This increase of prestige it owes largely to the patronage of the government and partly to the wealth of the landowners who support it. It understands organization; it has in Mr. Jinnah an able and dynamic leader, and it has profited by the mistakes of Congress. The nationalist Moslem groups and parties, outside Congress but friendly to it, are by contrast poor, lack any modern form or technique of organization and have no conspicuous leader.

But the chief reason for Mr. Jinnah's success is that he has played on the fears and animosities of the Moslem middle class. It fears its better educated Hindu competitors; it shudders at Hindu numbers; it dreads the Hindu banker and industrialist. It suffers from frustration under an alien government and within a capitalist society alien to all its traditions; consequently it is easy to implant hatred and fear in its mind. Its upper ranks, who fear the coming together of Moslem and Hindu peasants and workers, foster a fanaticism which keeps them apart. To keep them divided is only too easy, because of the fatal arrangement which herds them into separate constituencies and all but compels them to organize on a communal basis. The strength of the Moslem position lies in the fact that their conservative upper ranks—lawyers, landowners and princes—are content with things as they are. They run their own provinces; they have a strong foothold in the army; they enjoy the marked favor of the British government; as a class they have little to gain from national self-government or independence. If it is destined to come, they will make the Hindus (who passionately desire it) pay heavily for it. But while in words they demand it, they are in no hurry to see it come.

My own belief is that the interest of the masses of the Indian nation—peasants, landless workers and industrial workers—are identical and that their religious divisions are by every realistic test an irrelevance. The Hindus are singularly free from intolerance. Under any sound voting system, whether on a territorial or vocational basis, I believe the masses would vote as farmers, peasants or workers and not as Moslems or Hindus. But to hope for an early abandonment of this fatal system would be simple-minded.

In these unpromising conditions I doubt if we can get a national government in the full, literal sense of those words, while the war lasts. It would suffice perhaps if Congress and the League gave their support to an all-Indian ministry, which Mr. Rajagopalachari might be asked to form. The Prime Minister might perhaps be nominated by the informal council of provincial premiers. It would lie with this Indian ministry to draw up its plans both for the economic development of the peninsula and its constitutional future. But I think that defense of India will have to remain in British hands.

One part at least of the Cripps offer will have to be revised. It is indispensable that the princes should grant their subjects civil and political rights not less than those which obtain in the British provinces. If they enter the federation as autocrats, it could not breathe. If as British feudatories they remain politically outside it, yet geographically within its territory, it could never advance to independence. Burma and Ceylon must also have self-government. Since both are mainly Buddhist, might it ease the tension between Hindus and Moslems if these two were to enter the federation?

I have tried to write soberly on this tangled subject. It is not easy to be sanguine. But it is my conviction that to postpone a solution until after the war is a fatal error. Delay can only confirm the nationalist masses in their bitter mistrust of British intentions and promises. To have during the war in the East an unreconciled India in our rear may not amount to a danger. But it is a moral weakness, which will prejudice our cause in all our dealings with other Asiatics.

London H. N. BRAILSFORD

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Washington Notes

Back to Normalcy

THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' conference at St. Louis came out strong for a return-to-normalcy. The governors hit the administration where it is weakest, and that was all to the good, for such criticism of the administration's inadequate planning for the peace probably will cause the President to give the matter something more than desultory attention. It is high time that he should. And he should place officials in planning jobs whose ideas are somewhat less orthodox than Will Clayton's and those expressed by the Republican governors. If there were any unorthodox or constructive ideas expressed in St. Louis, I could not find them. The governors repeated the same old "free enterprise" catch-all. They said that everyone should have a job, without saying how. And, of course, they paid yeoman's service to states' rights.

But it was not so much what the governors said as what they left unsaid that disturbed me. The keynote was struck by Governor Dewey before he reached St. Louis and he, of course, dominated the conference. At Pittsburgh and again at Springfield en route to the conference, Dewey emphasized the argument that the next chief executive must be more of a peacetime President than a commander-in-chief. That is probably true, and it is the line that the Republicans will take in the campaign. What the governor seemed to me to be saying, however, was that we must get back to normalcy. We must get our soldiers back home, find them jobs and regain the isolation which was lost under Roosevelt.

"I want to equip our government, when we take over on January 20 of next year, to bring the period of reconversion to the quickest possible end at the end of this war; to bring jobs and a sound economy back to this country and to see that the Roosevelt depression does not return," Governor Dewey said.

The aim of the GOP strategy-makers is to take people's minds off the war, off the wartime role of the presidency, off all the perplexing problems of how to get along with the British and the Russians, and on to the problem of living at home again. The American people, like the people of every other country in the world, are war-weary; they want to forget big problems of international relations and relax a little; they want to get away from high taxation; and they want to have some assurance that somebody is going to help them hold on to their jobs after the war. The Republican Party is setting a trap for this kind of thinking. It is polishing up the old return-to-normalcy formula.

If Governor Dewey wants to prove this analysis wrong let him call another conference of recognized Republican leaders to discuss the complex problems of international relations and the part the United States must play if peace is to be real. There are two enormous problems facing this country today: how to build a stable economy at home and a stable peace for the world. The Republicans have held a conference on the first and, it seems to me, failed to approach it realistically or imaginatively. They have given the impression that they would like to ignore the second, for the problem of a stable peace is controversial and extremely difficult, and the solution will require heavy sacrifices. And it is a question for statesmen, not politicians.

The book reviewers are recommending as required reading "The Time for Decision," by Sumner Welles. I go them one better and suggest that it be required reading for the President of the United States. Mr. Welles argues eloquently for a more liberal government information policy on matters of foreign relations. Writing of the tragic years leading to the outbreak of war, the former Undersecretary of State says that "there could never be clearer proof of the crying need for both Houses of Congress, as representatives of the people, to be kept frequently and fully informed by the Department of State of every aspect of our foreign relations, and of every menace, however remote, that may threaten the well-being of our country. Only an enlightened public opinion can be held responsible for its mistakes."

Neither the President nor Secretary Hull has been in favor of keeping the American people fully informed of their activities. The final straw that caused Mr. Welles's break with Secretary Hull was the former's endorsement, while the Secretary was out of the city, of the Ball-Hill-Burton-Hatch resolution. Those four senators took their idea to Mr. Welles, who was Acting Secretary of State, before it was announced. He gave it his enthusiastic blessing, telephoned the President, who was out of the city, and arranged for the White House conference between the President and the senators which resulted in an immediate public announcement.

Mr. Hull returned and threw cold water on the proposal. He deeply resented the fact that Mr. Welles had approved the plan without consulting him. A few weeks later the Undersecretary was forced to resign. Mr. Hull could see no reason for starting a public debate on the question of postwar foreign policy even though that debate served a highly desirable educational purpose.

Since the war began, the President, even more than the Secretary of State, has ignored the American people. He has given them virtually no information about the conduct of the war or even about his own activities. As a person interested in news and in the personality of the President, I have found Mr. Welles's book invaluable. He has given me the first authentic picture I have seen of President Roosevelt directing the war. Although I have attended White House press conferences I have never been able to discover anything about the President's thought processes. Certainly the press conferences have been barren of news, so barren at times that I have wondered whether the President was really informed himself of what was going on in the world. I know that the impression I have had is a false one, but it has persisted nevertheless.

Mr. Welles reveals many facts for the first time. If all that he says about the President is true and if the President had given regular and full reports to the American people, then I think there would be no question about his re-election. The danger to the President in this campaign is that the people no longer really know him. They see

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him occasionally in a newsreel from Teheran or Cairo. But they do not see him in the flesh. They do not hear him argue the righteousness of his position. They do not have from him the kind of reports on how the war is going that, by every right, they should have.

The great danger is that even though Mr. Roosevelt may be reëlected in November he will be unable to beat down the "normalcy" slogans of the opposition and hold the support of the people in the critical days when the international peace machinery is being erected. The President must return to the level of the people if he is to win the great battles yet to be fought.

Notes: Senator Truman's resignation from the committee that bears his name, done over the protests of all his colleagues, shows a streak of character and a sense of responsibility too seldom found among politicians. . . . Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, worked almost as hard for the renomination of Senator Clark as he did for the nomination of Senator Truman as Vice President. . . . Americans may understand why Ham Fish was renominated, but they have a tough time trying to explain why to foreign visitors in this capital. . . . Politics is playing its usual part in the debate over the reconversion bills now before the Senate.

Washington T. R. B.

Science and Technology

Our Mounting Traffic Troubles

TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS are interfering seriously with America's war effort. Last year 23,000 persons were killed in highway accidents and of these more than half —12,500—were war workers, almost a full army division. Forty thousand more were crippled for life, destroying their productivity completely or in part. Another 350,000 were injured, causing them to be away from their work for varying periods of time. In fact, careful studies indicate that in time lost alone, to say nothing of all the other harmful consequences, traffic accidents last year took away from this country's production *10,000 years of work*. The material damage itself equaled all that would have gone into the construction of a dozen first-class battleships. It is no wonder that the nation's leading students of this subject are hard at work trying to devise means of cutting down this appalling total—to say nothing of the still worse prospect when the war ends and automobile traffic goes back to normal.

It is true that since 1941, when street and highway accidents caused nearly 40,000 deaths, those startling traffic-fatality figures have shrunk. Rubber, gasoline and car shortages reduced traffic mileage substantially. A wartime speed limit of 35 miles an hour was set for the entire country and—without being too closely observed—reduced over-all speed materially. In 1942 there were only about 28,500 street and highway fatalities. June, 1943, saw a new low record established for accidents: only eight and a fraction deaths for every hundred million miles of highway travel—as compared with a rate of 18 in 1935.

It took the war to teach us how dependent we have become, as a nation, on highway traffic. Prior to Pearl Harbor approximately 90 percent of all passenger transportation was by automobile. Whole suburban residential areas and consolidated country schools developed through the potentialities of gasoline-driven vehicles. Transportation to the office, to the doctor, to church or lodge, shopping trips and vacation trips and back-and-forth haulage to the railroad station or to work were all made by car. And with the vast amount of highway transportation involved, accidents came to be regarded almost as a matter of course.

War needs and war shortages threw new light on the whole picture. In many respects we had to change our accepted mode of life in order to get along with less gasoline, fewer miles in the car. It is still a shock to most people to learn that approximately two-thirds of the raw materials for war plants in the state of Michigan, for example, move to and from production centers by truck, and that in some of the great war plants, like the Glenn Martin airplane factories outside Baltimore, more than 90 percent of the workers get to their jobs in automobiles.

Slowly we are coming to realize that in great part the efficiency of our entire war effort, the modern assembly-line methods that give us the edge on all other nations in per-capita production, are dependent on highway transportation to an extent unparalleled in any other part of the world, that our roads and streets can be compared to the huge conveyor belts in a modern industrial plant and that injuries to our highway system affect our war output as definitely as if the enemy were to drop small bombs all over the country, in an effort to hamper war activities.

Beyond this: since June, 1943, traffic accidents have been increasing alarmingly. During the last six months of 1943 the rate increased 15 percent. Traffic deaths during October, 1943, were 19 percent ahead of those in October, 1942. December traffic deaths were 21 percent above those of the year before. And in January of this year there were 30 percent more fatal highway accidents than in January of 1943. The toll is still mounting. Since June, 1943, an eight-year safety gain in mileage rates has been wiped out. From less than nine deaths per hundred million miles of travel, we have gone back, temporarily at least, to more than sixteen deaths for that same amount of transportation—back almost as far, that is, as we were in 1936. Moreover, this new upsurge in highway deaths cannot readily be checked. It foreshadows appalling conditions ahead, which will, so far as safety experts can see at present, continue to worsen until long after the war is over.

There are a number of rather obvious reasons for this. Since car production was stopped in February, 1942, vehicles on the road have been steadily growing older and in greater need of repair. Garage work has been sharply reduced through the draining off of competent mechanics into war-production plants and the armed forces, so that now it is sometimes necessary to make an appointment weeks ahead for simple jobs that formerly could be taken care of in a couple of hours. Restrictions on tire consumption have led to the recapping of old tire carcasses with reclaimed rubber and the all-important automobile "shoes" are now far less reliable than they used to be. Regular inspection of cars at official state or city inspection stations, designed to stop motorists from driving vehicles in unsafe condition, has in many areas been discontinued. Where Connecticut, for example, formerly had compulsory twice-

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a-year car inspection, a few irregular "spot inspections," which for a few days or hours halt for inspection vehicles passing a particular point, are being relied on. Police enforcement of motor-vehicle laws has been greatly reduced.

"Traffic engineering" had, prior to Pearl Harbor, became an accredited profession. When reports showed numerous accidents occurring as the result of particular road conditions—badly placed traffic signals, lack of warning signs, inadequate road markings or whatever—traffic engineers were called in to improve conditions by eliminating the indicated hazards. But today the bulk of these trained traffic engineers are with our armed forces overseas, and the college courses at which they acquired their specialized training have been abandoned for the duration.

With the end of the war a burst of new complications will send accident figures skyrocketing. There will be hundreds of thousands, actually millions, of returned soldiers bringing to the renewed opportunity for driving civilian cars the war psychology to which they have been trained, that death or injury cannot necessarily be avoided, that you won't get hit or killed until your time comes and that if your number should come up it is not too important. There will be the removal of restrictions on gas and tires —removals that in themselves will stimulate motorists to drive farther and faster than they can drive at present, and with less caution. With the renewal of car production, there will be two classes of automobiles on the roads: new cars with high-speed potentials and relative safety (at least so far as construction is concerned) at those speeds, and millions of still functioning prewar machines, worn and patched, but with drivers anxious to make just as good time as if the cars were new.

One of the first barriers to be surmounted in cutting down the automobile-accident death rate is, of course, *proper driver licensing. At present two states—Wyoming* and Louisiana—do not require any license at all. Anyone, adult or child, can get into a car and, legally, drive it down the public highway. The remaining states have varying license requirements, with a few insisting on fairly strict, though perfunctory, driver examinations. New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut, among others, insist that a new driver must have a fair acquaintance with the traffic laws, must have reasonably good eyesight and hearing, and must know at least the rudiments of automobile operation. Considering that the successful licensee is legally permitted to take a ton and a half of intricate machinery, capable of speeds from 60 to 100 miles an hour, and drive it through pedestrian lanes and crowded traffic where the slightest mistake may mean snuffing out half a dozen lives, these "leading states" driver-examinations are hardly more than laughable. Eventually we must come to driver examinations and requirements almost as high as those for piloting airplanes. The risk is, if anything, greater. But before such a step can be taken, it will be necessary to revolutionize the public attitude toward driver requirements—a long-term proposition.

A more easily surmountable hurdle is that of reporting all traffic accidents. Highway safety cannot, obviously, be obtained until motor-vehicle authorities know where, when, how and why accidents occur. They cannot get this information until traffic accidents—not merely the most costly, or the most spectacular, or those in any one category, but *all* traffic accidents—are reported. Traffic accidents in only a few states are reported with even a fair degree of adequacy. In altogether too many instances no reports at all are required. Some states have a law requiring the reporting of all accidents in which the total damage exceeds $50, or even $25. In each case the quality of the reporting, the forms, completeness, filing systems, availability for analysis and so on, are even more important than the severity of the accident. For thoroughly adequate accident reporting, filing and analysis, far better motor-vehicle administrative machinery is necessary than we now have.

Supplementing accident reporting, and equally important in the prevention of traffic fatalities, is adequate accident investigation. This requires professional training. In cities like Detroit, where fairly competent Accident Investigation Squads have been set up, accidents have been reduced from one-third to one-half. In two-thirds of all thoroughly investigated accidents, for example, more than half of the drivers are found to have been violating traffic laws. Mere reports of these accidents could not bring out this fact with any certainty; accurate investigation is necessary for its determination. Whereas today only a handful of cities have established capable Accident Investigation Squads, this procedure must be made routine in all municipalities if traffic accidents are eventually to be done away with.

Traffic engineering has already been mentioned. When all states require complete reports of all traffic accidents, and all cities of any consequence have adequate accident-investigation personnel, the tabulation and critical analysis of accident reports will lead almost automatically to improved traffic engineering. For this work hundreds of trained men will be necessary.

An indispensable link in the chain of traffic-accident prevention is the traffic court. Adequate enforcement of intelligent traffic laws is impossible without capable and impartial administration of traffic-court justice. Our system of traffic-court administration is today, in the main, little better than a national disgrace. To reform it and establish these courts on an enlightened basis of intelligent jurisprudence is a herculean task. The Junior Bar Conference of the American Bar Association is at present pushing traffic-court reform following a widespread investigation of traffic-court procedure that disclosed shocking irregularities, but the work will take years.

There are also many minor matters connected with obtaining and maintaining a greater degree of highway safety. Uniformity of traffic laws, for example, has come in for a good deal of attention, but the goal is still almost as far away as ever. Uniformity of road signs and traffic signals is almost equally important. But today nearly every state maintains its own particular system of pavement marking, insisting that its own system is the best and that other states should adopt it. Regular inspection of cars, worked out satisfactorily in prewar days by a few states like New Jersey, should eventually be compulsory everywhere. Adequate driver examinations require trained examiners; today such examinations are usually given by state troopers, who are in most instances no better qualified to pass on driver requirements than ordinary patrolmen would be to determine who should or should not be allowed to carry firearms.

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Underlying all these advances and reforms is popular education. The man who handles a car must be made to understand why it is important for him to follow rules of "sportsmanlike driving," and avoid the petulant overconfidence that results in accidents. The legislator must be made to understand the importance of sound, constructive traffic legislation: the necessity for strict driver-license laws, good accident-reporting laws, safe car-inspection laws. State executives must be brought to appreciate the necessity for sound, non-political motor-vehicle-department administration. School teachers must be brought to a realization of the necessity for training their students in safety measures on city streets: care at intersections, safe rules for bicycle riding, caution in playing on city streets.

To bring about such an improvement in public-safety consciousness is no small task. It will take years. Newspapers, magazines, parent-teacher associations and other organizations will have to work at it steadily, as they have already worked at it, with only partial results, in the past.

It is not a pretty prospect. Safety experts estimate that our street and highway casualties may rise to 50,000 or more deaths a year, with more than 1,500,000 injuries, and a property loss exceeding two billion dollars annually, before we face the facts and adopt measures that will materially reduce this inexcusable highway slaughter.

MYRON M. STEARNS

For He's a Jolly, Good Fellow

THE THREE-AND-A-HALF-MILLION-DOLLAR film about Woodrow Wilson called "Darryl F. Zanuck's Wilson in Technicolor" is as surprising as it is costly, tedious and impotent. Some of the minor events in its life of President Wilson from the year 1908 through 1918 are the First World War, the Versailles Conference and Wilson's first term in the White House; some of its major events include the parade of delegates at the Democratic convention, the Wilsons' singing of "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet," and the locomotive yells given by Princeton students.

For several reasons, one being that Wilson had a "nice" tenor voice, there are 87 songs blared or sung in the picture from 1 to 12 times and as though the audience left its ears in the cloak room: come in at any time and you will think "Zanuck's Sousa" is being shown. In between musical numbers there is just time for someone to exclaim, "Mr. Baker" or "MacAdoo," for that person to show himself to you, and for Wilson to say something amusing; then the band starts playing again. As important a key to understanding the character of Wilson as Colonel House is hardly in the film, while two individuals, a cheerleader and an economics professor from Princeton, who seem of no importance for understanding anything, are given whole hunks of the film to act in. Probably the most surprising thing "Zanuck's Wilson" does is to make Wilson into a congenial, wise-cracking public figure, change his nature from that of a fierce Church father to that of an average business man, and his head from a large horse-head to an oval, doughy one.

The effect of the movie is similar to the one produced by the sterile post-card albums you buy in railroad stations, which unfold like accordions and show you the points of interest in the city. Its views of Wilson and the period are just as sycophantic; the points that it shows can be found for the most part in history books, but it leaves out a whole mass of facts of equal or greater importance, and hides the ones it does show in a kind of atmosphere that Zanuck calls "entertainment." The producers must have known far more about the World War, the peace-making at Versailles, and Wilson himself, but that is kept out of the movie in the same way that slum sections are kept out of post-card albums.

Zanuck and his film author, Lamar Trotti, have a number of pet notions to hang on their biography of Wilson, one of the main ones being the idea that much of American life is like a great, whooping Fourth of July parade, the people rather comical and foolish, but having one hell of a time, and events running the course of a foolish, comical game. The symbol for this is planted in the first scene—after a programme of credits that is a short feature in itself—at a football game between Princeton and Yale, in which the best part of the occasion is clearly indicated to be the yells, singing and excitement of the spectators; the game itself is a joke, and the players comic-opera characters. This interpretation of American life as a jamboree is repeated almost beyond endurance through the first three-quarters of the film in showing the jolly, vaudeville kind of home life the Wilsons had at Princeton, the funny Democratic conventions in 1912 and 1916, and the Wilsons' gay time at the White House; it leaves a minimum of space for the all-important events that came at the end of Wilson's life, and by its noisy, heavy emphasis kills most of the effect of those events. This jamboree interpretation fits in with two other Zanuck notions: it makes for the kind of "entertainment" in songs, dances, and wisecracks with which he believes a serious picture has to be sold, and it fits in with his desire to recreate Wilson into a genial figure completely lacking in hypocrisy, insensitiveness and imperiousness. By this last transformation he disintegrates a character of the most complicated nature and of terrifying forcefulness into completely unbelievable softness and into the most conventional of screen hero types.

Some of the other notions planted in this film include the lie that the United States' career in the First World War contained only the highest moral aims and actions, any mention of a less noble action is buried in a conversation where its effect is completely obliterated. Another notion it sells is the one that the people of Germany are incurable gangsters who will never get over the idea of world conquest. This is managed by some tricky writing—from the views and feelings of the present war rather than the first one—of a scene in which the German ambassador, Bernstorff, notifies Wilson of the German decision to torpedo all ships without warning. In spite of the evil nature of the scene's idea and the fact that the cards are too obviously stacked to make Wilson look good, it is played into one of the most forceful scenes in the film, with Wilson rising into a great, frightening rage of righteousness and seeming to stomp the not unlikeable, dignified German to death with his voice. The third program of the film is to boil the whole tragic affair of Versailles down to a vague incident showing Wilson nobly arguing—without opposition, as usual—against Clemenceau. The only

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mistake it attributes to Wilson—in what has often been called a major catastrophe for him—was his choosing the wrong Republican for his delegation to Versailles. A hint made by someone that the Peace Treaty was not the most benevolent and just that could have been written is in the less-than-faint category, and the notion that anyone was sold out isn't even in the picture. It ends on an all-time worst in movie scenes with the Germans coming in to sign the Treaty, while "Deutschland Über Alles" is played to an idiotic flatness to indicate German depravity.

The creditable moments in the films come during some of Wilson's orations, when Knox turns on a full, brassy voice that makes his Wilson sound as impressive as you expect him to sound. The Wilson dependence on women is moderately attained by showing his courtship of Mrs. Galt (Geraldine Fitzgerald), going forward with a kind of movie determination and strong suggestion that I find lacking in almost every other idea that the film tries to project. There are bits here and there that I liked: for instance, one of a crowd moving dumbly and strangely in a railroad yard as Wilson suddenly collapses in the midst of a speech, then being seen through the train window still moving oddly and trying to find out what has happened. About three-quarters of the way through, a large amount of actual newsreel from the first World War is run off and the strength of it makes the film that comes before and after seem comical. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

"Pin-up girls'" photographs are being used to help badly wounded soldiers recover the use of their arms and legs. "Pin-ups" of the men's choice are pasted on the papier-mache splints encasing their limbs, and when the patient wants to look at the photograph he must twist either his wrist or ankles, thus strengthening the weakened muscles by exercise. – *From Guinea Gold, Australian army newspaper in New Guinea.*

BANKER SAYS POSTWAR PROSPECTS ARE BRIGHT

Complete layoff and reorganization at the end of the war are being contemplated by many of the nation's aircraft companies, – *Headline and first sentence of story in The Wichita Beacon, Kansas.*

The Tie That Binds

There is one statement in this morning's editorial which I feel that I should correct. It is true that I completely dissociated myself from Anderson, Clayton and Company in the summer of 1940 when I entered government service; in fact, I have not been in the state of Texas since March, 1941. I did not, however, liquidate my stock in the company. W. L. CLAYTON. – *A letter in The Washington Post.*

Total-War Department

Zelda Popkin, author of "So Much Blood," which Lippincott published in May, felt she rated a holiday when she'd finished her latest mystery, and took one—a busman's. She went down to Washington for Lincoln's birthday and celebrated it at the Army Medical Museum, studying Lincoln's vertebra with the bullet hole in it. – *From a release of J. B. Lippincott Company.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Morality and Technology

SIR: In the final paragraph of his recent review of C. E. Ayres's "Theory of Economic Progress" Mr. Seligman sidesteps complete agreement with the author, seemingly to allow himself a back door by which to escape, should the necessity arise.

He says that a "profound reconsideration of our moral and spiritual values" is necessary to enforce the requisite changes in ceremonial patterns. But in doing so he leads himself into a dilemma from which there can be no escape. For, agreeing that these very "ceremonial patterns" are the bane of our social being, and that our "moral and spiritual values" are part and parcel of the ceremonial patterns, he would cure the cancer by using cancer as the medicant.

"Profound reconsideration" is indeed necessary, but finding new gods with new commandments and new humanitarian platitudes is not the answer. We must find new tools capable of dealing with and of developing solutions to our problems.

It should be realized that the terms "technology" and "techniques" are not used wholly in association with nuts and bolts. Governmental techniques such as price control, taxation and public works are likewise technologies. Closely linked, then, are public "attitudes" which makes the installation of these techniques possible or impossible. It should also be realized that tools and morals reside on two distinct planes, and as such are not usually subjected to the same tests. The point is that the test must be the same one—that of workability. If it is such a "pragmatic" regard of our moral and spiritual values to which Mr. Seligman refers, there is complete agreement. However, his use of the word "but" indicates that he reserves a suspicion that we may yet be led out of our difficulties by moral and spiritual turpitude, in the strictly "ceremonial" sense—as classical economists and religionists, positively, and Ayres, critically, use the terms.

One of the main points that Ayres makes is that all social phenomena, including attitudes, exhibit elements of both the static ceremonial and of the dynamic technological, and that the elements are strictly different—more, opposed. Thus the need is not to readjust but outright to discourage the ceremonial wherever it appears. What needs to be done is to "technologize" our value system, *i.e.*, to eradicate the spiritual (or ceremonial) elements so that we may come to regard societal problems without prejudgments, with the same matter-of-factness with which we face a leaking faucet or a broken pencil point. Our old moral and spiritual notions about things have traditionally and chronically inhibited the development and application of the new tools and techniques which would allow us to solve problems. It is indeed a profound reconsideration that is needed, but with the hope of discarding not of encouraging our "moral and spiritual values."

Washington, D. C. I. T. SMITH

SIR: In his review of "The Theory of Economic Progress," by C. E. Ayres (The New Republic, June 12, 1944), Mr. Seligman says that "the instrumentalist approach to economics must seem lacking in some respects" because "what we need is a profound reconsideration of our moral and spiritual values. And that demands going beyond technology."

This criticism appears to miss the point. For paramount to Ayres's way of thinking (and of course to the whole Dewey-Veblen tradition) is the identification of technology (or science) and morals. What we need to do, they have all along argued, is

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use in economics and politics the method which has proved so fruitful in physics and chemistry. Ayres has been saying since 1918 that "the problem of ethics is the problem of life as a whole. Its instrument is the accumulated wisdom of the community."

When Mr. Seligman makes a distinction between "technology" and "moral values," therefore, he either (1) does not understand that to Ayres spiritual values, to be values at all, must be of a technological (instrumental, scientific) character, or (2) is suggesting that we need something other than science and technology as our guide in the "higher" realms of morals. But, no matter how you slice it, non-science is superstition.

New York City ELGIN WILLIAMS

SIR: The limitations of a brief review might conceivably create the impression that an appeal to spiritual and moral values is an appeal to superstition. Thoroughgoing pragmatists, however, refuse to ascribe any meaning to these words other than that given to them by institutional religion. Those who deny that this crisis is one of human values as well as of economics and tools fail to see the problem in all its aspects. The terrible disparity between our attitudes and our actions is sufficient proof of that. "Ceremonial patterns" cannot be abolished: we must, rather, close the gap between archaic ceremony and modern techniques. That is the problem of reconsideration. Yet can instrumentalists tell us how to start if they cannot decide where technology ends and values begin?

Brooklyn, N. Y. BEN B. SELIGMAN

Civil Rights for Nisei

SIR: I am afraid that Mr. Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, writing in your issue of April 24, has misunderstood my letter concerning the draft of Japanese Americans. I did not mean to minimize the fact that the reinstitution of the draft for Nisei has remedied an injustice that has been long in need of rectification. What I tried to point out was that the reopening of the draft to Nisei should be accompanied by the simultaneous restoration to them of other rights and privileges as American citizens. The segregation and racial discrimination in the armed forces is a relatively unimportant one of the several factors which make the Nisei feel that they are not "full citizens," for the establishment of all-Nisei units in the army has some justification on purely military considerations.

I regret very much if my letter gave the impression of discrediting the Japanese American Citizens' League. On the whole, the League has done some highly commendable work in upholding the civil rights of the Japanese American minority, and its efforts in this direction should be fully recognized and given whole-hearted coöperation. Strangely enough, the League has been criticized from two widely divergent directions. One is the deplorable attack made upon it by a small group of Nisei who are plainly reactionary, and the other is the well meaning criticism made by those who feel that the League has not been vigorous enough in all of its attempts to secure full citizenship rights for the Japanese Americans.

Although most Nisei agree with the broad aims of the Japanese American Citizens' League, it is a matter of debate whether all of the policies and attitudes of the League accurately represent Nisei opinion. For example, on the occasion of the reopening of the draft a resolution was submitted to the War Relocation Authority by elected representatives of male citizens of one of the relocation centers having a total evacuee population of about 9,000, repudiating the Japanese American League as their spokesman with the WRA. A copy of the entire resolution is enclosed for your information.

St. Louis, Mo. KAZUYUKI TAKAHASHI

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The New Republic has received several letters dealing with the recent series of three articles by H. N. Brailsford entitled, "What to Do with Germany" [July 10, 17, 24]. Readers differ with Mr. Brailsford on a number of counts: they do not agree with him that it is possible to make a distinction, in peace settlements, between those Germans who were the authors of, and those who merely carried out, Nazi orders for murder and devastation. They do not agree that a possible leftist revolution in Germany might bring about a government which would be satisfactory to the Allied victors. They do not agree that violent revenge on the Nazis is undesirable—but they are careful to specify this revenge as a cure or preventive, rather than an end in itself. They do not agree that any gestures of leniency on the part of the Allies would not be taken advantage of by anti-democratic elements which will, they are sure, remain the most important groups to be reckoned with in postwar Germany.

Abraham S. Haft, of Baltimore, Maryland, says that "Mr. Brailsford's suggestions are reminiscent of the criticisms of Versailles by liberal spokesmen in the English-speaking countries after World War I, and of the appeasement of 1932-1939. It seems premature to advocate appeasement at this stage in our relations with Germany. The liberals of the Western world always considered appeasement to be an error, and the Germans always considered it an admission of weakness. What is needed is a peace compared to which even Hitler would concede Versailles to have been magnanimity itself, and to enforce this peace to the letter."

Jacob Chinitz, of New York City, admits that "As a Jew I am incapable of the impartiality Brailsford consistently demands. But," he says, "all logic has a background of illogical obsessions. My obsessions are lime-floored freight cars, human abattoirs, live burials. Brailsford, and the world with him, are obsessed with the great economic power that is Germany even defeated, the decisive weight on the political scale, the difficulty of giving the bum's rush to eighty million bums. . . . Brailsford wants to preserve the state which has systematically attempted to destroy European civilization three times in seventy years. Give me Vansittart."

"Any program to restore authority to a German government presupposes (1) a substantial anti-Nazi element in Germany, (2) capable of governing and (3) willing and able to suppress Nazi influence in public affairs and extirpate it from German life," writes a second lieutenant from New Orleans, Louisiana. "We have no evidence that any of these three indispensable factors will prevail in defeated Germany. . . . Mr. Brailsford's terms would be construed by the Germans only as proof of democratic weakness—ideal conditions for a regeneration of the master race, for new and broader adventures. The only language Germany will understand for many years to come is the stern exercise of military force."

Meyer Field, of Chicago, writes that "The world has two mortal enemies, Germany and her apologists—right and left. They both must be beaten and destroyed."

William McFee, Brookfield, Connecticut, has a simple suggestion: "Leave the Nazis to the Russians. . . . We may forget what the Nazis have done. The Russians will not."

A sergeant in the AAF at Great Bend, Kansas, writes to express his disappointment in the national conventions of both parties. Dissatisfied with the platforms laid down and the candidates chosen by both Democrats and Republicans, our correspondent pledges his vote and that of "an entire homecoming generation in 1948 . . . for a combination of liberalism, internationalism, fair employment and progress. My vote," he says, "will be for Wallace-Willkie or Willkie-Wallace, regardless of party affiliations."

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Books in Review

Hemingway at Midnight

When Ernest Hemingway's first books appeared, they seemed to be a transcription of the real world, new because they were accurate and because the world in those days was also new. With his insistence on "presenting things truly," he seemed to be a writer in the naturalistic tradition (for all his technical experiments); and the professors of American literature, when they got round to mentioning his books in their surveys, treated him as if he were the Dreiser of the lost generation, or perhaps the fruit of a deplorable misalliance between Dreiser and Jack London. Going back to his work in 1944, you perceive his kinship with a wholly different group of novelists, let us say with Poe and Hawthorne and Melville: the haunted and nocturnal writers, the men who dealt in images that were symbols of an inner world.

On the face of it, his method is not in the least like theirs. He doesn't lead us into castles ready to collapse with age, or into very old New England houses, or embark with us on the search for a whale that is also the white spirit of evil; instead he tells the stories he has lived or heard, against the background of countries he has seen. But, you reflect on reading his books again, these are curious stories that he has chosen from his wider experience, and these countries are presented in a strangely mortuary light. In no other writer of our time can you find such a profusion of corpses: dead women in the rain; dead soldiers bloated in their uniforms and surrounded by torn papers; sunken liners full of bodies that float past the closed portholes. In no other writer can you find so many suffering animals: mules with their forelegs broken drowning in shallow water off the quai at Smyrna; gored horses in the bullring; wounded hyenas first snapping at their own entrails and then eating them with relish. And morally wounded people who also devour themselves: punch-drunk boxers, soldiers with battle fatigue, veterans crazy with "the old rale," lesbians, nymphomaniacs, bullfighters who have lost their nerve, men who lie awake all night while their brains get to racing "like a flywheel with the weight gone"—here are visions as terrifying as those of "The Pit and the Pendulum," even though most of them are copied from life; here are nightmares at noonday, accurately described, pictured without the romantic mist, but having the nature of obsessions or hypnagogic visions between sleep and waking.

And, going back to them, you find a waking-dreamlike quality even in stories that deal with pleasant or commonplace aspects of the world. Take for example "Big Two-Hearted River," printed in his first American collection of stories, "In Our Time." Here the plot, or foreground of the plot, is simply a fishing trip in the northern peninsula of Michigan. Nick Adams, who is Hemingway's earliest and most personal hero, gets off the train at an abandoned sawmill town; he crosses burned-over land, makes camp, eats his supper and goes to sleep; in the morning he looks for bait, finds grasshoppers under a log, hooks a big trout and loses it, catches two other trout, then sits on the bank in the shadow and eats his lunch very slowly while watching the stream; he decides to do no more fishing that day. There is nothing else in the story, apparently; nothing but a collection of sharp sensory details, so that you smell or hear or touch or see everything that exists near Big Two-Hearted River; and you even taste Nick Adams' supper of beans and spaghetti. "All good books are alike," Hemingway later said, "in that they are truer than if they had really happened and after you are finished reading one you will feel that all that happened to you and afterwards it all belongs to you: the good and the bad, the ecstasy, the remorse and sorrow, the people and the places and how the weather was." This story belongs to the reader, but apparently it is lacking in ecstasy, remorse and sorrow; there are no people in it except Nick Adams; apparently there is nothing but "the places and how the weather was."

But Hemingway's stories are most of them continued, in the sense that he has a habit of returning to the same themes, each time making them a little clearer—to himself, I think, as well as to others. His work has an emotional consistency, as if all of it moved on the same stream of experience. A few years after writing "Big Two-Hearted River," he wrote another story that casts a retrospective light on his fishing trip (much as "A Farewell to Arms" helps to explain the background of Jake Barnes and Lady Brett, in "The Sun Also Rises"). The second story, "Now I Lay Me," deals with an American volunteer in the Italian army who isn't named but who might easily be Nick Adams. He is afraid to sleep at night because, so he says, "I had been living for a long time with the knowledge that if I ever shut my eyes in the dark and let myself go my soul would go out of my body. I had been that way for a long time, ever since I had been blown up at night and felt it go out of me and go off and then come back.' And the soldier continues:

> I had different ways of occupying myself while I lay awake I would think of a trout stream I had fished along when I was a boy and fish its whole length very carefully in my mind; fishing very carefully under all the logs, all the turns of the bank the deep holes and the clear shallow stretches, sometimes catching trout and sometimes losing them. I would stop fishing at noon to eat my lunch; sometimes on a log over the stream sometimes on a high bank under a tree, and I always ate my lunch very slowly and watched the stream below me while I ate . . . Some nights too I made up streams, and some of them were very exciting, and it was like being awake and dreaming Some of those streams I still remember and think that I have fished in them, and they are confused with streams I really know.

After reading this passage, we have a somewhat different attitude toward the earlier story. The river described in it remains completely real for us; but also—like those other streams the soldier invented during the night—it ha

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ARTIST AT WAR

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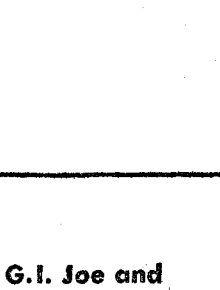

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the quality of a waking dream. Although the events in the foreground are described with superb accuracy, and for their own sake, we now perceive what we probably missed at a first reading: that there are shadows in the background and that part of the story takes place in an inner world. We notice that Nick Adams regards his fishing trip as an escape, either from a nightmare or from realities that have become a nightmare. Sometimes his mind starts to work, even here in the wilderness; but "he knew he could choke it because he was tired enough," and he can safely fall asleep. "Nick felt happy," the author says more than once. "He felt he had left everything behind, the need for thinking, the need to write, other needs. It was all back of him." He lives as if in an enchanted country. There is a faint suggestion of old legends: all the stories of boys with cruel stepmothers who wandered off into the forest, where the trees sheltered them and the birds brought them food. There is even a condition laid on Nick's happiness, just as in many fairy tales, where the hero must not wind a certain horn or open a certain door. Nick must not follow the river down into the swamp. "In the swamp the banks were bare, the big cedars came together overhead, the sun did not come through, except in patches; in the fast deep water, in the half light, the fishing would be tragic. In the swamp fishing was a tragic adventure. Nick did not want it. He did not want to go down the stream any further today."

Now, I question whether this shadowy background of "Big Two-Hearted River" was deliberately sketched in by the author, or whether it was more than half-consciously present in his mind. In those days Hemingway was trying to write with complete objectivity; he was trying, as he afterwards said, "to put down what really happened in action; what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced." But the emotion was often more personal and more complicated than he suspected at the time (though he might afterwards define it more clearly); and the "actual things" were presented so vividly in his stories that they became, for the reader, something more than "what really happened in action"; they also became metaphors or symbols. Many poems have the same double effect; and Hemingway's stories are often close to poetry.

Years later he began to make a deliberate use of symbolism (as in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro"), together with other literary devices that he had avoided in his earlier work. He even began to talk about the possibility of writing what he called fourth-dimensional prose. "The reason everyone now tries to avoid it," he says in "Green Hills of Africa," "to deny that it is important, to make it seem vain to try to do it, is because it is so difficult. Too many factors must combine to make it possible."

"What is this now?" asks Kandisky, the Austrian in leather breeches who likes to lead the life of the mind. And the author explains:

> "The kind of writing that can be done. How far prose can be carried if anyone is serious enough and has luck. There is a fourth and fifth dimension that can be gotten."
>
> "You believe it?"
>
> "I know it."
>
> "And if a writer can get this?"
>
> "Then nothing else matters. It is more important than anything else he can do. The chances are, of course, that he will fail. But there is a chance that he succeeds."
>
> "But that is poetry you are talking about."
>
> "No. It is much more difficult than poetry. It is a prose that has never been written. But it can be written, without tricks and without cheating. With nothing that will go bad afterwards."

Now, I don't know exactly what Hemingway means by prose with "a fourth and fifth dimension." It would seem to me that any good prose has four dimensions, in the sense of being a solid object that moves through time; whereas the fifth dimension is a mystical or meaningless figure of speech. But without understanding his choice of words, I do know that Hemingway's prose at its best gives a sense of depth and of moving forward on different levels that is lacking in even the best of his imitators, as it is in almost all the other novelists of our time. Moreover, I have at least a vague notion of how this quality in his work can be explained.

II

Considering his laborious apprenticeship and the masters with whom he chose to study (including Pound and Gertrude Stein); considering his theories of writing, which he has often discussed, and how they have developed with the years; considering their subtle and increasingly conscious application, as well as the complicated personality they serve to express, it is a little surprising to find that Hemingway is almost always described as a primitive. Yet the word really applies to him, if it is used in what might be called its anthropological sense. The anthropologists tell us that many of the so-called primitive peoples have an extremely elaborate system of beliefs, calling for the almost continual performance of rites and ceremonies; even their drunken orgies are ruled by tradition. Some of the forest-dwelling tribes believe that every rock or tree or animal has an indwelling spirit. When they kill an animal or chop down a tree, they must beg its forgiveness, repeating a formula of propitiation; otherwise its spirit would haunt them. Living briefly in a world of hostile forces, they preserve themselves—so they believe—only by the exercise of magic lore.

There is something of the same atmosphere in Hemingway's work. His heroes live in a world that is like a hostile forest, full of unseen dangers, not to mention the nightmares that haunt their sleep. Death spies on them from behind every tree. Their only chance for safety lies in the faithful observance of customs they invent for themselves. In an early story like "Big Two-Hearted River," you notice that Nick Adams does everything very slowly, not wishing "to rush his sensations any"; and he pays so much attention to the meaning and rightness of each gesture that his life alone in the wilderness becomes a succession of little ceremonies. "Another hopper poked his face out of the bottle. His antennae wavered. Nick took him by the head and held him while he threaded the hook under his chin, down through his thorax and into the last segments of his abdomen. The grasshopper took hold of the hook with his front feet, spitting tobacco juice on it." The grasshopper is playing its own part in a ritual; so too is the trout that swallows it, then bends the rod in jerks

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as it pumps against the current. The whole fishing trip, instead of being a mere escape, might be regarded as an incantation, a spell to banish evil spirits. And there are other magical ceremonies in Hemingway's work, besides those connected with fishing and hunting and drinking. Without too much difficulty we can recognize rites of animal sacrifice (as in "Death in the Afternoon"), of sexual union (in "For Whom the Bell Tolls"), of self-immolation (in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro"), of conversion (in "To Have and Have Not") and of symbolic death and rebirth (in the Caporetto passage of "A Farewell to Arms"). When one of Hemingway's characters violates his own standards or the just laws of the tribe (as Ole Andreson has done in "The Killers"), he waits for death as stolidly as an Indian.

Memories of the Indians he knew in his boyhood play an important part in Hemingway's work: they reappear in "The Torrents of Spring" and in several of his shorter stories. Robert Jordan, in "For Whom the Bell Tolls," compares his own exploits to Indian warfare, and he strengthens himself during his last moments by thinking about his grandfather, an old Indian fighter. "In Our Time," Hemingway's first book of stories, starts by telling how Nick Adams' father is called to attend an Indian woman who has been in labor for two days. The woman lies screaming in a bunkhouse, while her husband, with a badly injured foot, lies in the bunk above her smoking his pipe. Dr. Adams performs a Caesarean section without anesthetic, then sews up the wound with fishing leaders. When the operation is finished, he looks at the husband in the upper bunk and finds that he is dead; unable to bear his wife's pain, he has turned his face to the wall and cut his throat. A story Nick Adams later tells is of Trudy Gilby, the Indian girl with whom he used to go squirrel shooting and who, under the big hemlock trees, "did first what no one has ever done better." Most of Hemingway's heroines are in the image of Trudy; they have the obedience to their lovers and the sexual morals of Indian girls. His heroes suffer without complaining and, in one way or another, they destroy themselves like the Indian husband.

But Hemingway feels an even closer kinship with the Spaniards, because they retain a primitive dignity in giving and accepting death. Even when their dignity is transformed into a blind lust for killing, as sometimes happened during their civil war, they continue to hold his respect. Agustín, in "For Whom the Bell Tolls," sees four of Franco's cavalrymen and breaks out into a sweat that is not the sweat of fear. "When I saw those four there," he says, "and thought that we might kill them I was like a mare in the corral waiting for the stallion." And Robert Jordan thinks to himself: "We do it coldly but they do not, nor ever have. It is their extra sacrament. Their old one that they had before the new religion came from the far end of the Mediterranean, the one they have never abandoned but only suppressed and hidden to bring it out again in wars and inquisitions." Hemingway himself seems to have a feeling for half-forgotten sacraments; his cast of mind is pre-Christian and pre-logical.

Sometimes his stories come close to being adaptations of ancient myths. His first novel, for example, deals in different terms with the same legend that T. S. Eliot was not so much presenting as concealing in "The Waste Land." When we turn to Eliot's explanatory notes, then read the scholarly work to which they refer as a principal source—"From Ritual to Romance," by Jessie L. Weston—we learn that his poem is largely based on the legend of the Fisher King. The legend tells how the king was wounded in the loins and how he lay wasting in his bed while his whole kingdom became unfruitful; there was thunder but no rain; the rivers dried up, the flocks had no increase and the women bore no children. "The Sun Also Rises" presents the same situation in terms of Paris after the First World War. It is a less despairing book than critics like to think, with their moral conviction that drinkers and fornicators are necessarily unhappy; at times the story is gay, friendly, even exuberant; but the hero (who is also a fisherman) has been wounded like the Fisher King, and he lives in a world that is absolutely sterile. I don't mean to imply that Hemingway owes any debt to "The Waste Land." He had read the poem, which he liked at first, and the notes that followed it, which he didn't like at all; I doubt very much that he bothered to look at Jessie L. Weston's book. He said in 1924, when he was writing about the death of Joseph Conrad: "If I knew that by grinding Mr. Eliot into a fine dry powder and sprinkling that powder over Mr. Conrad's grave, Mr. Conrad would shortly appear, looking very annoyed at the forced return, and commence writing, I would leave for London early tomorrow morning with a sausage grinder." And yet when he wrote his first novel, he dealt with the same legend that Eliot had discovered by scholarship; recovering it for himself, I think, by a sort of instinct for legendary situations.

And it is this instinct for legends, for sacraments, for rituals, for symbols appealing to buried hopes and fears, that helps to explain the power of Hemingway's work and his vast superiority over his imitators. The imitators have learned all his mannerisms as a writer, and in some cases they can tell a story even better than Hemingway himself; but they tell only the story; they communicate with the reader on only one level of experience. Hemingway does more than that. Most of us are also primitive in a sense, for all the machinery that surrounds our lives. We have our private rituals, our little superstitions, our symbols and fears and nightmares; and Hemingway reminds us unconsciously of the hidden worlds in which we live. Reading his best work, we are a little like Nick Adams looking down from the railroad bridge at the trout in Big Two-Hearted River: "many trout in deep, fast-moving water, slightly distorted as he watched far down through the glassy convex surface of the pool, its surface pushing and swelling smooth against the resistance of the log-driven piles of the bridge. At the bottom of the pool were the big trout. Nick did not see them at first. Then he saw them at the bottom of the pool, big trout looking to hold themselves on the gravel bottom in a varying mist of gravel and sand."

III

During the last few years it has become the fashion to reprimand Hemingway and to point out how much better his work would be (with its undoubted power) if only he were a little more virtuous or reasonable or optimistic, or if he revealed the proper attitude toward progress and

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democracy. Critics like Maurice Coindreau (in French) and Bernard DeVoto have abused him without bothering to understand what he plainly says, much less what he suggests or implies. Even Maxwell Geismar, who is one of the few professors with a natural feeling for literary values, would like to make him completely over. "What a marvelous teacher Hemingway is," he exclaims, "with all the restrictions of temperament and environment which so far define his work! What could he not show us of living as well as dying, of the positives in our being as well as the destroying forces, of 'grace under pressure' and the grace we need with no pressures, of ordinary life-giving actions along with those superb last gestures of doomed exiles!" Or, to put the matter more plainly, what a great writer Hemingway would be, in Geismar's opinion, if he combined his own work with equal parts of Trollope and Emerson.

And the critics have some justice on their side. It is true that Hemingway has seldom been an affirmative writer; it is true that most of his work is narrow and violent and generally preoccupied with death. But the critics, although they might conceivably change him for the worse, are quite unable to change him for the better. He is one of the novelists who write, not as they should or would, but as they must. Like Poe and Hawthorne and Melville, he listens to his personal demon, which might also be called his intuition or his sense of life. If he listened to the critics instead, he might indeed come to resemble Trollope or Emerson, but the resemblance would be only on the surface and, as he sometimes says of writing that tried hard to meet public requirements, it would all go bad afterwards. Some of his own writing has gone bad, but surprisingly little of it. By now he has earned the right to be taken for what he is, with his great faults and greater virtues; with his narrowness, his power, his always open eyes, his stubborn, chip-on-the-shoulder honesty, his nightmares, his rituals for escaping them and his sense of an inner and an outer world that for twenty years were moving together toward the same disaster.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Two Down

The History of Rome Hanks, by Joseph Stanley Pennell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 363 pages. $2.75.
Freedom Road, by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 263 pages. $2.75.

IF YOU'VE ESCAPED BEING TOLD, "Rome Hanks" is what happened when golden-toothed, pearly-haired Christa Schell drawled to Lee Harrington-Pennell, "Yes; I'm sure your grandfather must have been a fine old Southern gentleman." Well sir, he went out and talked around and read around and found out about *all* his family, and, along with some more about himself and four very bad sonnets to Christa, put it into this novel. Considering that the method of the book is pretentious and clumsy, that Lee Harrington is an embarrassingly silly young man in search of the traditional Thomas Wolfian abstractions, buttressed occasionally by strong drink and fallen women, and that the style could stand several good night sweats, two things are worth salvaging from the wreckage. You can piece together a bottomside view of the Civil War that is worth putting

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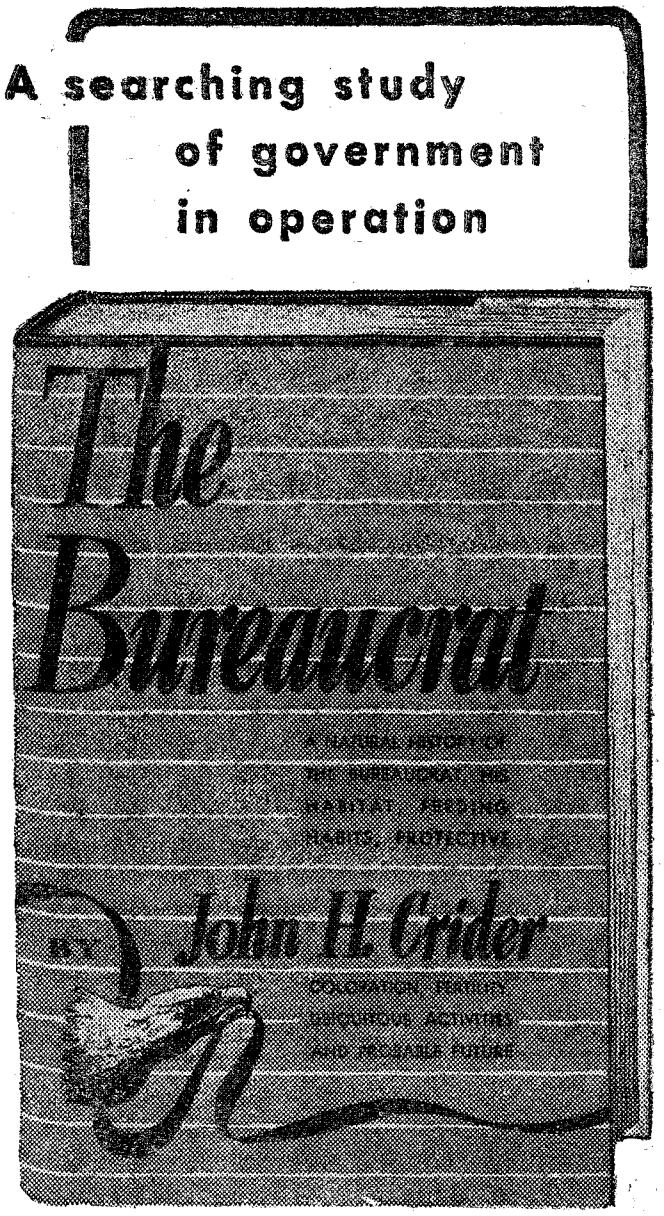
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beside Brady's photographs, Grant's "Memoirs," "The Red Badge of Courage" and J. W. De Forest's "Miss Ravenel's Conversion," that still-neglected novel which tells more about the inner and outer history of the war than any other book I know of. And when the noise of Mr. Pennell's language and the confusion of his method die down a little, the figure of Romulus Lycurgus Hanks, soldier and citizen, remains to remind us that all the giants in the land didn't get into the history books.

Ever since Dos Passos began the custom of running adjective and noun together connoisseurs have been collecting the amusing results. Mr. Pennell comes up with a few good ones including "pubichairs." Try to say that fast without getting something the author didn't intend. And the vast amount of shuffling that Mr. Pennell evidently subjected his material to is responsible on one occasion for making the villain a Princeton graduate while elsewhere in the book his Harvard education is referred to several times.

There is neither confusion nor stylistic nonsense in Howard Fast's "Freedom Road," which has at once the virtues and the defects of a cleanly written political tract. Mr. Fast, in adding another volume to his series of American historical novels, sets out to right the balance on the Reconstruction Period in South Carolina, which, following the precedent of Pike's "The Prostrate State," has been set down in one book after another as a horrible record of Negro, Carpetbagger and Scalawag ignorance, brutality and corruption. While more recently historians have been willing to acknowledge the social and educational reforms instituted by the Republican legislature and to recognize that most of the violence of the period was employed by the white ex-Confederates in their efforts to reduce the Negro and the poor whites to their pre-War status, it is good to be reminded again that at one time, however briefly and tentatively, Negro and white had lived and worked together in relative freedom in the heart of the South.

But Mr. Fast's account of Gideon Jackson's rise from slave to statesman and the experiment in racial and social democracy on what had been the Carwell plantation never achieves "the solidity of specification" (the phrase is Henry James') that we have come to demand of fiction. It lacks dimension, depth, above all the saturation in its materials, which, for all its shortcomings, marks "Rome Hanks." In the few points of immediate reference between the two books this point is clear. By a coincidence each of them deals in passing with medical education in Edinburgh. Mr. Pennell manages in his brief references to give you something of the color of the Scottish city and the nature of a nineteenth-century medical student's life. In "Freedom Road" the incident is recorded to show that for a Negro to reach the highest technical levels of the profession it is necessary to study abroad. Again, in both books Grant is a minor character; but while Mr. Fast has read history as carefully as Mr. Pennell, in "Freedom Road" Grant is an historical character and in "Rome Hanks" he is a fly-bitten, drink-haunted, but strangely dignified human figure.

Mr. Fast has written a useful democratic tract for the times and anyone who desires racial equality is in his debt, but in his effort to counterbalance the distortions of the majority of the historians of the Reconstruction he has

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made overstatements, if not errors, of his own. It would be more accurate, and more pertinent in the light of what has followed, to make it clear that most of the Negroes who served with the Northern armies (Mr. Fast places the figure at a very high 200,000) served as laborers. This is no reflection on the Negro, but an index to the white attitude toward the Negro which infected, and infects, large areas of the North as well as the South. And I don't see how, when you express unreserved admiration for Stevens and Sumner and equally unreserved disgust for Andrew Johnson, you can bring the authority of the Lincoln legend to the side of Radical Reconstruction. Lincoln's policies and his temper regrettably were poles apart from the cause that Mr. Fast argues. You can't have your history both ways. GEORGE MAYBERRY

The Official Mirror

Chiang Kai-shek: Asia's Man of Destiny, by H. H. Chang. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 357 pages. $3.50.

PERHAPS no important living statesman is less understood by the western world than Chiang Kai-shek. This arises partly from the absence of a democratic political system in China, for the leaders of that country are under little popular pressure to put themselves on record about most issues of the day. But, as the author of the present book emphasizes, Chiang's so-called enigmatic qualities also reflect the differences in historic background between China and her allies.

It is a highly idealized portrait of the Generalissimo that is painted here, with the grime of day-to-day politics removed and the blood of a revolutionary epoch washed away. Chiang emerges as the "single person" who has made of China "a new entity," the man who "was able in the space of twenty years to lead his country from bondage to liberty, from virtual slavery to freedom." He is described as combining within himself thoroughgoing loyalty to the ideals of that modern revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen, and an abiding faith in the moral excellence of the Confucian philosophy cultivated by the pre-revolutionary, traditional China. In fact, the main point appears to be that Chiang has no desire to break with China's past and is really seeking to absorb twentieth-century industrial techniques into the cultural pattern developed in an earlier era. Dr. Chang tells us significantly that the Generalissimo is "reverting more and more to the type of the great Chinese rulers."

It would be easy to pick holes in this volume, especially since many important aspects of the subject are omitted or not discussed adequately. For example, in 357 pages of text exactly seven sentences are devoted to Wang Ching-wei—once a nationalist leader, now a Japanese puppet—even though rivalry between Chiang and Wang was an outstanding factor in Chinese politics during the crucial decade and a half, from 1924 to 1939. As a result of this omission one of the chief glories of Chiang's leadership in recent years is obscured, namely, his determination not to yield to Japan despite the existence of defeatist influences within his government.

One might also stress the weakness of the biographical method employed in these pages—the Carlylean conception

FARRAR & RINEHART, N.Y.

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of the role of the individual in history, the unvarying acceptance of Chiang's own estimate of his motives and actions as the historic truth. But it is from these shortcomings, in a sense, that the book derives its importance. For Dr. Chang, making full use of his experience as a Chinese official, his personal knowledge of the Generalissimo and his study of Chinese materials on the subject, has produced an analysis that may not be very far from Chiang Kai-shek's conception of himself.

It is helpful to have such a picture, because a great man's opinion of his own life—or, in this case, a reflection of his opinion—is an essential element in understanding the events of which he is a part. At the same time the description of Chiang given here raises some serious questions. One is compelled to ask whether the effort to preserve China's traditional mores may not point to a desire to change as little as possible the outmoded agricultural system with which those mores have been so intimately connected. For the world knows well, from the example of Germany and Japan, that the fruit cannot be good when the flowering branch of modern industry is grafted onto the gnarled, misshapen trunk of a dying rural economy.

Chiang's personal philosophy, of course, is by no means the only influence shaping his conduct or China's development. Moreover, in stressing the Generalissimo's consistency in thought and action, the author may have underrated his capacity for adjusting himself to changing political pressures. One such pressure is the strong democratic sentiment existing in the territory of the National Government as well as in the guerrilla areas. Another is the earnest desire of countries allied to China to see Chungking move unmistakably along the path to a democratic regime uniting all Chinese groups. These circumstances offer hope for the future. But the fact remains, as Dr. Chang has unwittingly emphasized, that we do not yet know whether Chiang Kai-shek and the men about him have sufficient political flexibility to permit the far-reaching internal compromises needed for China's peaceful, progressive development.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

A Reader's List

THEY WERE THERE, edited by Curt Riess (Putnam's, $5). This is a mammoth anthology of work by foreign correspondents, more than 160 of them, telling how the present war came to the world. The editor has chosen his selections so skillfully that the book has more continuity than one might expect. Nearly every foreign correspondent you have heard of, in recent years, is included, and while the level of writing is of course uneven, it is on the whole surprisingly high.

THE BLACK RECORD OF CONGRESS: a chart (Labor Institute of America, $2). The Labor Institute of America has published a chart closely resembling the voting record of members of Congress which appeared in The New Republic's special section on May 8. This one, however, uses colors. A red spot means a progressive vote, a black spot, an anti-progressive vote, and so on. It has the merit that you can stand some distance away and see whether the black predominates in the delegation from any given state. The chart as a whole is disturbingly dark.

THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, by Ruhl J. Bartlett (University of North Carolina Press, $2.50). From 1915-1920, the League to Enforce Peace was the strongest American group advocating an international organization backed by force. At various times, it attracted the support of most political leaders, from Lodge (temporarily) to Wilson. Its leading members, however, were prominent Republicans—ex-President Taft, A. Lawrence Lowell and Herbert Hoover among them—who in 1919, with astonishing inconsistency, came out for the infamous "Lodge reservations." "The League to Enforce Peace, therefore, contributed to the defeat of the League of Nations almost as effectively as if it had been in outright opposition." Wilson, it would seem, erred in failing to force the League of Nations as a clear-cut partisan issue, thereby permitting naïve or politically motivated pro-League Republicans "consistently" to support the League's professed "friend," Senator Lodge. Professor Bartlett's is a revealing, dispassionate study, openly pro-Wilson.

PLANNING: NO. 222. MEDICAL CARE FOR CITIZENS. (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 50 cents.) Those who fear the collectivism of socialized medicine had better avoid PEP's newest broadsheet. It is a forthright demand for community solution of the problems of health. The editors spend most of their time weighing the proposals of the recent White Paper on "A National Health Service" yet criticism is used here only as a vehicle for some really constructive ideas. PEP's chief complaint with the Health Ministry's proposals is that "it is a medical rather than a health plan." The shortcomings, says PEP, are considerable. Industrial and occupational medicine, research, social work and medical training are overlooked by the White Paper. A program that ignores these problems will do little to improve health standards. PEP's discussion, which ranges over the entire field of medical economics, including private versus public practice, health centers, fees, hospital organization, medical social workers and financing, stresses the need for an effectively functioning Ministry of Health. The broadsheet, of course, is concerned with British experience, but the problems are distinctly comparable to those in America.

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